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DER

# INDO-ARISCHEN PHILOLOGIE

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(ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDO ARYAN RESEARCH)

BEGRÜNDET VON G. BÜHNER, FORTGESETZT VON I. KATHORN

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# THE ATHARVAVEDA

BY

M. BLOOMFIELD.

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1899

# THE ATHARVA-VEDA AND THE GOPATHA-BRĀHMANA

BY

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD

## PART I THE ATHARVA-VEDA IN GENERAL.

### A CHARACTER AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA

§ 1 External comparison with the other Vedas — The Atharva Veda is a collection of 730 hymns containing some 6000 stanzas divided into 20 books. About one sixth of the mass, including two entire books (25 and 16), is written in prose, similar in style and language to the Brāhmanas<sup>1</sup>, the rest is poetry in the usual Vedic metres. The latter however are handled with great freedom, often betraying either ignorance or disregard of the Vedic metrical canons as applied to the poetry of the Rig Veda<sup>2</sup>. Genuine tradition as to the authorship of the hymns there is none: the hymns themselves are silent, the reports of the Śrautakramanika of the AV are in this respect absolutely fatuous. Unlike the Kik Samin and Yajus — the Veda is respectively of hymn of praise, chanted song, and sacred il verses and formulas — the names of the AV do not in the first place reflect the nature of the contents, or the manner of employment of its hymns. The name *brāhma Veda* is very late and does not in the main designate Veda of charms and incantations, but rather Veda of the Brahman (holy word or religion): the name was arrived at in a round about fashion<sup>3</sup>. Other descriptive names such as *ble agni*, *121*, etc., are only partial descriptions and though familiar enough, were never used extensively. Instead, the location of this Veda is with mythic fire priests of prehistoric antiquity, Atharvan and Agastya (later also Bhṛgu) resulting in the names Atharvagrishth Bhṛgumunish and finally Atharvavedi. It has been assumed that this association is entirely secondary due to the natural desire to adorn these otherwise almost nameless compositions with an antiquity and dignity which do not belong to them. But the names *a' ar' va* and *angirsa* are well ingrained in the poems themselves, in a sense very much the same as that of the oldest title of the AV (*a' ar- va angirsa*)<sup>4</sup>. Hence it may be well to remember that the Atharvancrites as well as the Hindu ceremonies connected with home-life (*grha*) centre about the fire, in distinction from the greater Vedic ceremonies (*grhya*) which are in the main concerned with oblations of soma. It is therefore possible to believe that the Vedic Hindus, when they said of these charms that they were *a' ar- va* and *angirsa*, meant 'fire-charms' i.e. charms pronounced when some oblation, not soma, was poured or thrown into the fire<sup>5</sup>.

§ 2. Relative chronology of the popular and hieratic literatures.—Anyhow this difference of nomenclature between the three Vedas on the one side and the Atharvan on the other is an important and profound one in the history of Vedic literature. Leaving aside the beginnings of speculative theosophic literature which are represented freely in both types (RV. and AV.), we are led to two main divisions of Vedic literature, the three Vedas with their soma-sacrifices, and the AV. with the house-ceremonies (*grhya*), i. e., respectively, the hieratic and the popular religion. The statement put in this form is of importance for the relative chronology of the Atharvan writings: it becomes evident at once, and from the ethnological point of view *a fortiori*, that there can have been no period of Vedic history in which house-customs and mantras of essentially Atharvanic character were wanting, while at the same time the more elaborate hieratic mantras and soma-sacrifices were present. In fact, in some form or other both are prehistoric. The hieratic religion joins the Avestan *haoma*-worship; the Atharvanic charms and practices are very likely rooted in an even earlier, perhaps Indo-European, antiquity. At least, he who does not regard the analoga between Atharvanic charms and practices and those of the Teutonic and other I. E. peoples as entirely accidental (anthropological) must hesitate to ascribe all the mantras of the AV. and *Grhyasūtras* to a late Vedic period<sup>10</sup>. In the case of some, e. g. the wedding-charms and the funeral hymns, this is manifestly impossible; it is not less so in the case of at least some hymns embodied in the AV. *Samhitās* alone, as, e. g. 4. 12. This point of view gains much firmness from a complete survey of the vast armory of charms, blessings, and curses contained in the AV., such as may be gained by reading over the analysis of the vulgate as given in this book (Part III). What is the nature of the impulse which created *ex nihilo*, at a late period so strong and popular a need, and with it such elaborate means of satisfaction; what were the conditions which exempted the earlier and therefore more primitive Vedic time from these needs and their gratification? It has been assumed that the more intimate blending of the Vedic people with the barbarous aborigines of India may have contributed much to the vulgarization of the beliefs and literature of the Vedic Hindus. This is certainly true to some extent, but it does not account for a literature of such extent and character as the Atharvan. This is, after all, only to a limited extent suggestive of aboriginal barbarism: demonolatry with all other things that are hideous and uncanny make up only a part of the AV. and the related *Grhya*-literature; nor is it possible to demonstrate that even all that is borrowed from outside sources. Contrariwise, Atharvanic charms are often pervaded by a more genuine 'Aryan' spirit than the more artistic prayers to the gods of the Rigvedic pantheon (e. g. 3. 12; 3. 30; 4. 8; 7. 36 and 37). That the differences in language, style, and metre between AV. and RV. are by no means always to be interpreted as chronological but rather as dialectic; and that the songs of the lower grades of the people were sure to be composed in a language slightly different from that of the higher priestly families will be shown below (§ 38 and 42).

§ 3. Chronology of the Atharvan redaction.—Yet there can be no doubt that the existing collections of the Atharvan are the final product of a redactional activity much later than that of the RV., and that many hymns and prose pieces in the AV. date from a very late period of Vedic productivity. The Atharvan hymns as well as the *Grhya*-rites present themselves in a form thoroughly *Rishified* and *Brahmanized*; even the mantras and rites of the most primitive ethnological flavor have been caught in the drag-net of the priestly class and made part of the universal Vedic religion.

Thus the AV. with its popular beliefs poses outwardly in the same attitude of dignity as the RV. with the soma-rites, i. e. Brahmanical priests handle charm and *hocus-pocus* as religion, not as superstition. As a natural consequence the Vedic pantheon is brought down and made to participate in the common people's customs and superstitions. But one feels the difference; they are employed mechanically, they have become sterile, and only rarely develop their character beyond the point at which the RV. leaves them. Agni, Indra, the Maruts, Ithaspati, etc., are mentioned most always in series which show that the Vedic gods have become indifferently of equal value. Being of old slayers of demons, they are needed, of course, against the darkling brood of demons, goblins, wizards, and witches which rise above the horizon from the lowest depths of the folk's consciousness: demon-slayers they are in the AV., and little else. Even ethical Varuna with his spies, by virtue of his unrivaled facilities for ferreting out hostile, i. e., *co ipso* sinful, schemes of enemies and sorcerers, figures familiarly. Such criticisms as are called out by this inherently difficult and paradoxical condition of things in the midst of a people capable of higher thought, belong to a rather late time. While all this has been going on speculative theosophic thought which seems never to have been wanting in India, has also moved from such beginnings as are found in the RV. to a greater degree of subtlety and mysticism: the sublimated pantheism of the Upaniṣads has been reached nearly, if not quite. Everything is grist to the mill of the Atharvan — not only are entire theosophic hymns fitted out as weapons against the hated enemy and wizard, but individual speculative formulas and theosophic entities have joined the clap-net that is supposed to be effective against 'him that hates us and whom we hate'. This explains the extraordinary fact that a hymn like 8.6, resting upon the lowest bathos of folk-lore, can exist peaceably by the side of such fine-spun theosophic lucubrations as the two hymns to Skambha 'Support' (10.7 and 8) which present the knowledge of brahma and atman as the highest goal; or that *asat* 'non-being', the perplexing cosmogonic conception, may be turned against performers of spells (4.19.6)<sup>11</sup>. From such phenomena as these, rather than the word-forms, or demonological contents of the hymns, the evidence of a later time must be extracted — the concurrent use of popular, hieratic, and philosophical themes for practical purposes, often manifestly secondary, betokens a highly reflective, manipulating period of Brahmanical activity.

§ 4. Relation of the AV. to the Brāhmaṇas, and the Dharma-texts. — Indeed the word Brahmanical which has just now been used is to be taken, it seems, in its narrower sense, namely, the period of the composition of the Brāhmaṇa-texts. The observant reader of a commentary on the AV., such as has been published by the author in *StB*, vol. XIII, will find abundant evidence that the spirit of the Brāhmaṇa-texts — I refrain from saying Brāhmaṇa period because there never was a period devoted exclusively to the composition of Brāhmaṇas — asserts itself mightily in the collection of the AV. as a whole. Above all, these hymns run the whole gamut of the pretensions and demands of the Brāhmaṇa priesthood in the style of the Brāhmaṇa-texts themselves. The Brahmins in the AV., as in the Brāhmaṇa-texts, call themselves *devā*, 'gods'<sup>12</sup>; their claims reach the highest pitch. A comparison of WIRER'S 'Collectanea on the Castes'<sup>13</sup> with the chapter in this book on the 'Prayers and imprecations in the interest of Brahmins' (§ 56) fixes pretty definitely the lower limit in the relative chronology of the Atharvan diaskeuasis: it belongs to an advanced period of Brahmanical literary activity; there is nothing in the way of assuming that the composition

of such texts as AB. and SB. preceded the redactions of the Atharvan Samhitās. The sparse geographical data of the AV., especially the mention of the rivers Yamunā and Varanāvati and the regions of the Aṅgas and Magadhas<sup>14</sup>, point to an acquaintance with India far enough to the east and south-east to accommodate the scene of action of the Brāhmaṇa-texts. Among zoographic facts pointing in the same direction the most conspicuous is the Atharvan's familiarity with the tiger, the inhabitant of the swampy forests of Bengal, perhaps more narrowly the region about Benares<sup>15</sup>. The inevitable and doubtless prehistoric (Indo-Iranian) distinction, on the one hand, between priests, chieftains, and free commoners, all three *ārya*, and the aboriginal servitor-class (*dasyu*, *sūdra*) has advanced in the AV., so that the line is drawn sharply not only between the two (*ārya* and *sūdra*) but also between the first three, *brahmana*, *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya*<sup>16</sup>. The knowledge of anatomy, human and animal, has advanced nearly if not quite so far as in the Brahmanical accounts of the *ātmantha* and *puruṣamētha*<sup>17</sup>. The hymn 11. 7 which deifies the leavings of the porridge (*ucchiṣṭa*) is not only full of hair-splitting scholastic theosophy, but also contains a long catalogue of the *śrauta*-sacrifices and the technical forms of recitation of hymns and liturgic chant. The combination of the two gods Tvaṣṭar and Savitar and their assimilation to Prajāpati reflects the spirit of the Drāhmanas (see 2. 26. 1; 3. 8. 2; 7. 17. 4). In another direction the AV. reaches an advanced period of literary activity, namely in the marked development of expiatory hymns (*prayascitta*); the entire tract of hymns, AV. 6 110-121, deals with sin (*pāpa*, *enas*, *litbiṣa*, etc.) very much in the same spirit as the Vidhāna-texts and the Dharma-texts. Thus the chapter of this book on 'Expiation of sin and defilement' (§ 58) touches at many points the paragraph entitled 'Religious delinquencies' in JOHLY'S 'Recht und Sitte' p. 115 ff., as also the *prayascitta*-chapters, Svidh. 1. 5 ff. Especially noteworthy are 6 117-119 which apparently aim to salve the conscience for unpaid debts (*ṛna*), in part gambling-debts; and 6. 112 and 113 which deal with the class of sins 'wiped off' by the gods from themselves upon the 'scape-god' Trita, sins like the marriage of a younger brother before the older, abortion, and murder of Brahmins<sup>18</sup>. This class of hymns together with the closely related so-called *kūṣmaṇḍa*<sup>19</sup>, TA. 2. 3-6, mark, as has hardly been noticed, the longest line of contact between mantra and dharma, and the matter is of some importance in determining the relative chronology of the Atharvan redaction as very late. Of course dates, real dates, in Vedic literature prior to Buddha and the Epic are still 'pins set up only to be bowled down again'. So true is this that fortunately no knowing attempts have been made as yet to fix either the date of the composition of the individual hymns or the redaction. This much is clear that the chronology of each hymn, and each antiquarian and institutional theme, must be viewed from an ever changing critical position, and with a particularly constant regard of the related facts of the whole Vedic tradition: to mass the testimony of the AV. at any one point, to speak, except for occasional convenience, of the period of the AV., seems an even more pernicious error than the bundling together of the facts of the so-called 'Rigvedic' period into one package, separate from all the rest of the early Brahmanic antiquity.

MADHUSŪDANASARASVATI, Prasthānabhedā, IS. I, 16 (DÜSSELDORF, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, vol. I, part I, p. 50); ŚĀYANA, Introduction to his commentary on the AV.; ALFIERI, India (SACHAU'S translation), p. 129 ff.; COLVILL, Essays, vol. I, p. 13, 80 ff.; BOUTIN, Das alte Indien, vol. I, p. 128; LASSÉN, Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. I, p. 523; ROTH, Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Veda, p. 5, 15, 37 ff.; Abhandlung über den Atharva-Veda (Tübingen 1856); Der Atharva-Veda in Kaschmir (Tübingen 1875); MAX MÜLLER, HASL. p. 445 ff.; Chips



from a German Workshop, vol. I, p. 9 ff.; WEBER, IS. I, 289, 294 ff.; XIII, 331 ff.; Indische Literaturgeschichte<sup>2</sup>, p. 11, 161 ff.; WINTFRY, JAOS. IV, 254; OLS. I, p. 18 ff.; Sanskrit Grammar, p. xvi; LUDWIG, Der Rig-Veda, vol. III, p. 28, 341 ff.; L. V. SCHROFFER, Indien's Literatur und Cultur, p. 170 ff.; KAPF, The Rig-Veda (ARROWSMITH'S translation), p. 4, 97; R. T. H. GRIFITH, Hymns of the Atharva-veda (translation), in the preface; HARDY, Die Vedisch brahmanische Periode, p. 190 ff.; OLDENBERG, Die Religion des Veda, p. 17 ff.; HOPKINS, Religions of India, p. 151 ff.; BROOMFIELD, Hymns of the Atharvaveda, SBL. XII, Introduction; ANONYMUS, The Atharva-Veda described, London and Madras 1897 (missionary tract).

<sup>1</sup> Book 16 contrains, however, some passages which are written in cadenced prose from which it is possible to extract at least single metrical pādas. This is true of much other prose material in the AV. (as also in the YV.), so that it is not unfrequently difficult to decide whether a given hymn or stanza is prose or poetry; prose and loose verse are mixed up in the AV. to an extent not quite reached in any other class of Vedic writings. Cp. WINTFRY, Index Verborum, p. 5. — <sup>2</sup> See below, § 38. — <sup>3</sup> Below, § 19. — <sup>4</sup> Below, § 9 and 33, and more fully, SBL. XLII, p. 1viii, and LXXV. — <sup>5</sup> See § 8 and 9. — <sup>6</sup> WEBER, IS. I, 293; Omina und Portenta, p. 347; WILK., p. 164; WINTFRY, OLS. I, 18. — <sup>7</sup> SBL. XLII, p. xxv and xxxv. — <sup>8</sup> The connection of *atharvan* with fire is Indo-Iranian (Avestan *athrauan*); cp. SEIGER, Iranische Alterthumskunde, III, f. 559; Die arische Periode, p. 232; HUG, Essays on the Parsis, p. 280, 294; GEIGER, Civilization of the Eastern Iranians, vol. II, p. 48 ff.; and many other writers. HALL's attempt to show that the Avesta is acquainted with some Atharvan collection under the name *apm̐ ant̐s* has only historical interest: see, Brahma und die Brahmanen, p. 43 ff.; Essays, p. 182. — <sup>9</sup> Cp. KNAUR, Festgruss an ROTH, p. 64 ff.; WINTFRITZ, The Muntrapāthia of the Apastambins, p. xiv. — <sup>10</sup> ADALBERT KUNZ, KZ. XIII, p. 49–74; 113–157; SBL. XLII, p. 313, 386, 454. Cp. STENZLER, Über die Sute, Appendix to his translation of AG.; HILLBRANDT, Ritual-Literatur, p. 2. — <sup>11</sup> See § 59. — <sup>12</sup> See 5. 11. 11; 6. 13. 1, 114 1, 11. 1. 23, 12. 3. 38; 4. 23; 19. 62. 1. Cp. ZIMMER, p. 205 ff.; SBL. XLII, Index, under, 'Brahman-priests'. — <sup>13</sup> IS. X, 1–160. — <sup>14</sup> ZIMMER, p. 5, 20, 31; the interpretation of *varanīast* is, however, quite doubtful; SBL. XLII, p. 376. — <sup>15</sup> ZIMMER, p. 79. — <sup>16</sup> See, 5. 17. 9; 6. 13 1; 7. 103. 1; 12. 5. 46, 15 8 1 ff., 19. 32. 8, 62. 1. — <sup>17</sup> See, 9 6 and 7; 10. 2, etc. — <sup>18</sup> See BLOOMFIELD, Contributions. Seventh Series. AJPh. XVII, 430 ff.; JOLLY, p. 116. — <sup>19</sup> See § 58, note 3.

## B. HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE ATHARVAN, AND ITS RELATION TO THE HOUSE-BOOKS.

§ 5. The mutual relations of the AV. and the Grhya-sūtras, and their historical value. — Ancient India, as is well known, has no history in the ordinary sense, no secular history. In lieu thereof the history of its religion and the history of its institutions are unrivaled among the peoples of olden times in their continuity and completeness. Especially the obscurer and more sluggish currents of ordinary daily life, a knowledge of which is so important for the true estimate of a people, are laid bare to the eye of the historian by an altogether unusual kind of tradition. We are not left to reconstruct a picture of the private life of the Vedic Hindu from scattered, incidental statements of their ancient literature alone. Valuable as such statements are, more trustworthy perhaps, as far as they go, than intentional descriptions, they are yet certain to be fragmentary, and to yield but a hazy outline of the subject. In addition to such incidental statements Vedic literature has preserved native systematic treatises on home-life which have searched out and stated systematically a well defined body of facts connected with the every-day existence of the individual and the family. These are the Grhya-sūtras, or house-books, composed as formal treatises at a comparatively late Vedic period<sup>1</sup>, but reporting practices and prayers of great antiquity<sup>2</sup>. This class of texts owe their existence to the religious view which the Hindus were led to take of the entire course of their lives. In its even daily course, as well as in its crucial moments, the life of the Hindu is surrounded by a plethora of religious forms;

it is, as it were, sacramental throughout. The beliefs of the folk did not forever flow in a separate undercurrent beneath the open-air religion, scorned by the latter as superstition, but they were at an early time imbedded within the religion. The Grhya-sūtras, as in a measure also the Śānta-sūtras<sup>3</sup>, resulted from a codification of popular beliefs undertaken by the Brahmans at a time when these beliefs had been completely harmonized with the Brahmanical order of things, as well as with the divine law and the personal needs and demands of the gods.

It is not to be doubted that the simple practices which are at the bottom of the systematic house-books were at all times accompanied by prayers to such gods, geni, and demons as peopled the fancy of the simple folk<sup>4</sup>. To be sure the Grhya-sūtras in their finished form are later redactorial products of schools of Vedic learning, and as such participate to a large extent in the entire stock of hymns, stanzas, and liturgic prayers of their particular school without careful regard to the original purpose for which these hymns, stanzas, etc., were composed<sup>5</sup>. In other words, as the practice of home-rites passed more and more into the hands of the Brahmans, the latter did not stint them their spiritual learning, they decked out the practices with mantras often ludicrously misapplied to the situation. We may also suppose that many ancient prayers were remodelled by the Brahmans to accord better with their own religious ideas and literary habits. Yet it is impossible to believe that marriage-ceremony, burial-rite, medical charm, exorcism and the like can ever have been carried on without prayer, and it will be ultimately a distinct task of Vedic study to find out what are the original grhya-mantras and grhya-formulas in distinction from the later importations. Such a body of prayers would be even more fit to be trusted as a report of early customs than the Sūtras themselves, they would cancel for themselves all suspicion that we are dealing with individual trumped up fancies. The prayers of the Grhya-sūtras are either woven into the account of the practices themselves, or they are preserved as separate collections (*mantra-brāhmaṇa*, *mantra-pāṭha*): the Saṃhitās of the AV. are, as it were, Mantra-pāṭhas on a large scale, broader in scope and freer from school-influence than those of the house-books proper. We may expect to find in their hymns a picture of the private antiquities of ancient India, painted on a large canvass with no particular choice of favored subjects placed in the fore-ground; a picture such as cannot be furnished by the Grhya-sūtras, because they limit themselves eclectically to good or pious subjects in the main. The light and the shadows, the good and the evil in the life of this ancient people must appear in due proportion.

§ 6. Scope of the AV. as a record of ancient life. — This expectation the hymns of the AV. fulfil quite amply. Supported by its own ritual book, the Sūtra of Kauśika, which reports the practices connected with these hymns in a way that is on the whole trustworthy, the AV. furnishes an almost complete picture of the ordinary life of the Vedic Hindu. The AV. deals with the themes of the house-books proper and is, of course, supplemented by these interesting and important treatises. The life of the average Arya from the cradle to the funeral-pyre is depicted by the AV. with greater freedom and completeness than in the house-books; the difference, as I have said before, is that the AV. is not at all squeamish in the choice of its themes, and exhibits the ordinary Hindu not only in his aspect of devout and virtuous adherent of the Brahmanic gods, and performer of pious practices, but also as the natural semi-civilized man: rapacious, demon and fear-ridden, hateful, lustful, addicted to sorcery. The variety of practices and beliefs connected with house and home, field and cattle, love and marriage, trade and village-

politics, is also far greater in the AV. than in the house-books. But it contains, in addition much that is wanting or barely touched upon in the Grhya-sūtras. The analysis of the AV. which forms the third part of this work exhibits this difference even in the headings of its separate paragraphs. Thus the medical charms (§ 50) present a complete picture of primitive Hindu medicine, a theme that is hardly indicated in any other department of Vedic literature. The house-books have nothing that corresponds to the theme, 'Prayers and imprecations in the interest of Brahmans' (§ 56); very little that corresponds to the 'Royal rites' (§ 55): these two chapters hold the earliest fairly systematic account of the two superior castes, the Brahmans and the Kṣatriyas. The 'Women's rites' (§ 53), the 'Charms to secure harmony, influence in the village-assembly' (§ 54), and many other less prominent themes, though not entirely absent in the house-books, are also characteristically Atharvan. It may be said fairly that the house-books are excerpts from the broad sphere of life with all its realities, excerpts which were begun in a certain mood that governed the choice of subjects, and that this choice became traditional in all non-Atharvanic Vedic schools. Thus all Grhya-sūtras present in the main the same selections, their many differences notwithstanding<sup>6</sup>: the circle or endless chain of human existence: birth, confirmation, Brahman discipleship, arrival at man's estate, marriage, householdership and again birth, etc., with many intermediate rites. Other matters are treated only incidentally and in a subsidiary way. Not only are the Grhya-sūtras restricted to the more pious and orderly aspects of daily life, but they deal also in the main with those practices which are of a regular, permanent, or periodic character — *nityakarmāṇi* as the theologians call them — whereas the AV. is engaged largely with occasional and optional practices (*namittika, karmya*). To this the AV. owes its flavor of romance and unexpectedness. As the reader works his way hymn by hymn through the Atharvan collections, arranged with a degree of *gaucherie* hardly to be excelled<sup>7</sup>, he is surprised and bewildered by the number and variety of subjects, by the insistent way in which the obscure relations and emotions of human life are brought to the surface and exploited. And there is left finally the definite impression that the precious literary diligence of the Hindus has in this instance preserved a document of priceless value for the institutional history of early India as well as the ethnological history of the human race, that in this respect the AV. is a document as precious as is the RV. on the side of mythology and formal priestly religion.

<sup>6</sup> See OLDENBERG, *SBL*, XXX, p. XLVIII — <sup>7</sup> Note in this connection, e. g., the way in which the proper noun *atthya*, 'presenting a cow to guests', in the RV., has enshrined an essential feature of the *arjya*, the rites at the reception of an honored guest; see Contributions, Seventh Series, *ApPh.* VII, 424 — <sup>8</sup> HILFBRANDT, *Ritual Literature*, p. 1 ff. — <sup>9</sup> Quite the opposite view is advocated by OLDENBERG, l. c., p. x: it has been criticized by WINTERITZ, *The Mantrapāṭha of the Apastambins*, p. XLIV. — <sup>10</sup> Cf. F. W. FAH, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, May, 1890, vol. IV, nr. 81, p. 74, *SBL*, XLII, p. XLVIII — <sup>11</sup> For a comprehensive view of the themes of the Grhya-sūtras see OLDENBERG's synopsis, *SBL*, XXX, p. 300—307; for a description in detail, HILFBRANDT, l. c., p. 41 ff. — <sup>12</sup> See § 36 ff.

## C. THE NAMES OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA AND THEIR MEANINGS.

§ 7. The compound Atharvāṅgirasah and the meaning of its two members, Atharvan and Ṃgiras.—The oldest name of the fourth Veda is the dvandva-plural *atharvāṅgirasah* (AV. 10. 7. 20), the name found at the head of the manuscripts of the Śvaṇakīya-Saṃhitā. More or less secondary and irregular forms and derivatives, such as occur in the expressions

*atharvāṅgirasi śrutam*, Mahābh. 3. 305. 20 = 17066<sup>2</sup>; *Luśalam atharvāṅgirase*, Yājñ. 1. 312; *liṣṭhām atharvāṅgirasiṁ*, Mahābh 8. 40. 33 = 1818; *atharvāṅgirasiḥ śrutih*, Manu 11. 33; *atharvāṅgirasaṁ tarpayami*, Baudh. Dh. 2. 5. 9. 14, are of later growth. The name *atharvan* and its derivatives are employed growingly throughout the literature, whereas the name *āṅgiras* by itself occurs but in a single Vedic passage, TS. 7. 5. 11. 2 = Kāthaka Āśvamedhagrantha (*āṅgīrobhyaḥ śrāka*), as the designation of the fourth Veda<sup>3</sup>. Quite frequently, however, the members of the compound *atharvāṅgirasaḥ* are separated so that each is mentioned by itself, but always in more or less close vicinity to one another, showing that the Atharvans and Āṅgirasas had a separate existence, and that the AV. consists of these two component parts. In fact, in a considerable range of the literature especially of older times the term *atharvan* refers to the auspicious practices of the Veda, the *bhṛṣajani* (AV. 11. 6. 14), those parts of the Veda which are recognized by the Atharvan ritual and the orthodox Brahmanical writings as *sānta*, 'holy', and *pratyauṣṭika*, 'auspicious'; the term *āṅgiras* refers to the hostile sorcery practices of the Veda, the *yātu* (SB. 10. 5. 2. 20), or *abhicāra*, which is terrible (*ghora*).

This view of the double character of the AV. is expressed most plainly and familiarly in the Gopathabrāhmana. Thus 1. 2. 21 and 1. 5. 10, *prajayasi sāmni sānta 'tha ghore*; in the last-named case GB. substitutes these five Vedas for the *trayī* in the corresponding passage, SB. 12. 3. 3. 2, upon which GB. is based. These two Atharvanic Vedas assume such reality in the mind of the author of GB. as to be furnished each with an independent *vyahrti*, to match *bhūr*, *bhuvaḥ*, *svaḥ* of the *trayī*, namely, *om* for the Atharvan = *sānta*, *janat* for the Āṅgiras = *ghora*: Gll. 1. 2. 24 and 1. 3. 3. In 1. 3. 3 the *vyahrtis* of the *trayī* are sandwiched in between *om* and *janat* for protection (*gup*: see GB. 1. 1. 13). Cp. also 1. 1. 5, 8 and 1. 3. 4. In the ritual practices, Vait. 5. 10, GB. 1. 2. 18 the same distinction is maintained in behalf of two classes of plants, one of which is described as *sānta*, or *ātharvaṇa*; the other, used in hostile sorcery, as *āṅgirasa*. The latter word has assumed in the Kauśika the meaning of *ābhicārika* or *ghora*, and the fifth Kalpa of the AV. goes by the names Āṅgirasa-kalpa, Abhicāra-kalpa, and Vidhāna-kalpa. The words *āṅgirasa* = *ābhicārika*, and *pratyāṅgirasa* as referring to 'counter-witchcraft' (*pratyābhicāraṇa*) are also used in Vidhāna-texts outside of the AV., in fact as designations of such texts, e. g. Rīg-vidhāna 4. 6. 4<sup>4</sup>; with this pejorative use of the word we may perhaps also connect the fact that the Purāṇas count the Āṅgirasa-Veda as one of the four Vedas of the Pārsis (Maga), the other three, Vada, Viśvavada, and Vidut, also conveying thinly veiled contempt for the religious books of a foreign religion<sup>5</sup>. What is even more significant, the distinction between Ātharvana-Veda and Āṅgirasa-Veda is also recognized by the non-Atharvanic Brāhmanas and Sūtras, and also associated by them in explicit terms respectively with *sānta* and *ghora*. At SB. 13. 4. 3. 3ff.; AS. 10. 7. 1ff.; SS. 16. 2. 9ff., on the occasion of the *pārīplāza*, at the horse-sacrifice, sections from these two Vedas are recited: AS. and SS. specify that a *bhṛṣajam* (*sāntam*) be recited from the Atharvana-Veda, a *ghoram* (*ābhicārikam*) from the Āṅgirasa-Veda. Cp. also Pll. 12. 9. 10; 16. 10. 10, and the names of apocryphal sages and divinities like Bhīṣaj Ātharvaṇa, in contrast with Ghora Āṅgirasa, as also Saṃyū Ātharvaṇa and Sinti, the wife of Atharvan<sup>6</sup>. Possibly the assumed inferiority of the Āṅgiras in the Brāhman legends of the contests between the Ādityas and Āṅgiras also points to the uncanny, devilish character of the latter, and may be derived from the same sphere of conceptions: the Āṅgiras regularly appear as vanquished victims, similar to the Āsuras in their struggles with the Devas<sup>7</sup>.

The AV. Saṃhitā marks the same distinction very clearly. At 11.6.14 four Vedic mantra-categories are indicated by the expressions *ṛcāh*, *sāmani*, *bhṛgajā*, and *yajūñjī*; here the choice of the word *bhṛgajā* is eclectic and one-sided. Its precise complement is SB. 10.5.2.20, where *yātu* and the *yātuvīdāḥ* are placed by the side of the three Vedas and their representative priests. That *bhṛgajā* and *yātu* are complements of one another appears from AV. 6.13.3, *namas te* (sc. *mṛtyoh*) *yātuvhāṇbhīyo*, *namas te bhṛgajābhīyah*. The *bhṛgajā* of AV. 11.6.14 and the *yātu* of the SB. passage make up together what is embraced in the name *atharvāṅgīrasaḥ* (AV. 10.7.20). The Saṃhitā also associates markedly the term *āṅgīrasa* with aggressive sorcery and the practice of spells (*kṛtyā*). Thus 8.5.9, *kṛtyā āṅgīrasīḥ*; 10.1.6, *praticina āṅgīrasaḥ ... praticīḥ kṛtyā ākṛtyā 'mun kṛtyākīto jahi*; cp. also 12.5.52, and 6.45.3 = RV. 10.164.4. And the distinction between Atharvanic and Āṅgīrasic plants appears also in 11.4.16 (cp. 8.7.17), probably in the same sense as in the Atharvan ritual, i.e. in the sense, respectively, of 'holy' and 'witchcraft' plants. Finally the late Pāṇinīya hymns, AV. 19.22 and 23, repeated in the Uttama-pāṭala, Ath. Pāṇi. 46.9 and 10, deal with and state subdivisions of *āṅgīrasa* and *atharvaṇa* texts, each separately; cp. GB. 1.1.5, 8, and 1.3.4.

§ 8. Cause of the distinction between Atharvan and Āṅgīras — As regards the chronology and cause of this differentiation of *atharvan* and *āṅgīras* the texts offer but scant information. The association of both names (and later of the name *bhṛgu* also) with the texts and practices of the fourth Veda may be sought in their character of mythic fire-priests, or fire-churners; the homely practices of the AV. may have been in charge of human fire-priests in distinction from soma-priests<sup>9</sup>. As regards the terrible aspect of the Āṅgīras as compared with the Atharvans, we may point to RV. 10.108.10, where Saramā threatens the Panis with the *āṅgīrasaḥ ... ghorāḥ*. More important is the Āṅgīrasic character of Bṛhaspati, the divine Purohita, in Kaus. 135.9 Bṛhaspati Āṅgīrasa appears as the representative, or the divinity of sorcery; in the Mahābh. he is frequently called *āṅgīrasam śreṣṭhaḥ*. In his function of body-priest of the gods he exercises against hostile powers those fierce qualities which are later regarded as Āṅgīrasic in the broader sense, cp. RV. 10.164.4 = AV. 6.45.3, where Bṛhaspati figures as *Praticina* ('black-hurled') Āṅgīrasa. Still less obvious are the reasons why the word *atharvan* should be particularly associated with *śanta* and *bhṛāja*, perhaps this was accomplished by simply contrasting it with *āṅgīras*, after the latter had assumed its sinister sense<sup>9</sup>. In any case at an early time the terms *atharvanah* in the sense of 'holy charms', and *āṅgīrasah* in the sense of 'witchcraft charms', joined the more distinctively hieratic terms *ṛcāh*, *yajūñjī* and *sāmani*, as characteristic types of Brahmanical literary performances. But this distinction was at a later period again abandoned, in the end the name *atharvan* and its derivatives (*atharvanah*, *atharvaṇāni*, *atharvanah*, *atharvanika*, *atharvana*, *atharvāna*, and, finally, *atharva-śāstra*)<sup>10</sup> prevail as designations of the charms and practices of the fourth Veda, without reference to their strongly diversified character.

§ 9. The terms *Bhṛgvaṅgīrasaḥ*, *Brahma-veda*, and the designations of Atharvan priests. — Two other designations of the AV. differ from the preceding in that they are the product of a later Atharvanic literary age, neither of them are found in the Saṃhitā, both are almost wholly restricted to the ritual texts of the Atharvan itself. They are the names *bhṛgvaṅgīrasaḥ* and *brahma-śāstra*. The term *bhṛgvaṅgīrasaḥ*, as far as is known, occurs only in Atharvan texts. Though *bhṛgu* in this compound takes the place of *atharvan*, the terms *bhṛgvaḥ* or *bhṛgvaśāstra* do not occur, except that the Cūḍikā-Up. 11 designates the Atharvan collection of mantras as *bhṛgvaśāstra* (schol., *bhārgava-*

*granthāḥ*). The term *bhṛgvaṅgiras*, almost always in the compound *bhṛgvaṅgīrovid*, is the favorite designation of the AV. in the Atharvan ritual texts; it makes a show, in fact, of crowding out designations based upon the stem *atharvan*<sup>11</sup>. And there is an indefinable tendency to magnify the importance of the term *bhṛgu* at the expense of the others, as when the cosmogony GB. 1. 1. 3 creates Bhṛgu before Atharvan; or when GB. 1. 2. 22 says that the Atharvans and Ṃgiras are the eyes of Bhṛgu; or when the Cūlikā-Up. 10 says that the Bhṛgus are foremost among the Atharvans (*atharvāṇo bhṛgūttamaḥ*): if this is taken seriously at all it reflects rather the result than the cause of the substitution of the name *bhṛgu* for *atharvan*. There is indeed no valid reason why the term *bhṛgu* has succeeded in encroaching so far upon the term *atharvan*. The following may, however, be remarked. The three words *atharvan*, *aṅgiras*, and *bhṛgu* are in general equivalent, or closely related mythic names, concerned with the production, or the service of the fire. Occasionally in the mantras (RV. 10. 14. 6) they are found all together, or *bhṛgu* is found in company with *atharvan* (RV. 10. 92. 10), or with *aṅgiras* (RV. 8. 43. 13). This inter-relation continues in the Yajus and Brāhmaṇa-texts<sup>12</sup> in such a way that the juxtaposition of *bhṛgu* and *aṅgiras* becomes exceedingly frequent, brushing on the complete synonymy reached in ŚB. 4. 1. 5. 1, where the sage Cyavana is designated either as a Bhṛgava, or as an Ṃgira. Perhaps the frequency of this collocation suggested to the Atharvavedins a mode of freshening up the more trite compound *atharvāṅgirasah*; of any more conscious reason for the preference of the word *bhṛgu* the texts show no trace.

The term *brahma-veda* whose origin is discussed below (§ 33) likewise belongs to the sphere of the Atharvan ritual. Outside of the Atharvan there is but a single unquestionable occurrence, SG. 1. 16. 3. Even in the Atharvan Upaniṣads the term is wanting, curiously enough<sup>13</sup>. The earliest occurrences, aside from SG., are Vait. 1. 1; GB. 1. 1. 22; 2. 16. 19; 5. 15. 19; 2. 2. 6. The word is common in the Parīkṣas<sup>14</sup>. The supposition that ŚB. 14. 8. 14. 1—4 = Bṛh. Up. 5. 13. 1—4 with its series, *ultham* (= *rk*), *ṣajuh*, *sāma*, *kṣatram*, alludes to the Atharvan as the Veda of the Kṣatriyas is at present no more likely than when it was advanced by the author, SBL XII, p. xxv ff. Cp. also WERTH, *Verz. II*, p. 1203. The RV. Prātiśākhya 16. 54 (55) mentions a Vedic book or collection by the name of *subhetoja*, 'collection of remedial charms', probably only another way of saying *bhetojani*, i. e. the auspicious Atharvan charms; cp. the expression *saubhetojam chanduh*, GB. 1. 5. 23 (p. 85, bottom). Curious is ALBERTI's statement (India, SACHAU's translation, vol. I, p. 129) that the AV. does not consist of the same compositions as the Rik and Yajus, but of a third kind called *bhara* 'song of praise' (RV.).

Designations of priests devoted to the AV. are wanting in the Samhitās, unless the terms *bhṛgu* and *aṅgirasa*, AV. 5. 19. 1, 2 are intended as such. The Atharvan ritual texts use *brahman* and *bhṛgvaṅgīrovid*, in addition to derivatives from the stem *atharvan*. Very late is the use of the bahuvrīhis *pañcakalpa* and *pañcakalpin*, 'one who practices with the five Kalpas of the AV.': Mahābh. 12. 342. 99 = 13258; 13. 14. 309 = 901; Mahābhāṣya (IS. XIII. 455); and as titles of scribes of Atharvan ritual texts<sup>15</sup>. Whether the word *māṭṛkalpika* in the Mahābhāṣya bears any relation to the AV. is still an unsettled point: see Kaus. *Introd. p. LIII*.

<sup>11</sup> The present chapter is an abstract of the essay on this subject, SBL XII, p. xvii—xxiii, with certain not unimportant corroborative additional details that have come to hand since the date of that publication. Cp. HULTSFANDT, *Ritual-Literatur*, p. 169. — <sup>12</sup> Bombay ed., *atharvāṅgīraṇa śrutam*; Calcutta, however,

*atharvairau brutam*. — 3 Later this designation crops out in grammatical writings, in the superscription of Ath. Prātis, and in the Mahābhāṣya to Pāṇini 5. 2. 37 (cp. IS. XII. 433). — 4 BLOOMFIRTH, JAOS. XI. 387 ff.; SBE. XLII, p. xviii ff. — 5 Cp. WILSON in KLINGEN'S Mémoire sur l'Hind, p. 394; WEBER, IS. I. 292, note; WILK 161, note. — 6 SBE. XLII, p. xvi. — 7 Cp. WEBER, IS. I. 291 ff.; and below, § 52, note 3. — 8 Cp. KNÄGER, Festgruss an Roth, p. 64 ff. — 9 A dash of popular etymology may have helped the process: *a-shar-an* 'not injuring'; cp. *thuru* in the sense of 'injure', Dhātupāṭha 15. 62, and perhaps MS. 2. 10. 1; also the roots *turu* and *dhuru* with similar meanings. — 10 SBE. XLII, p. xxv. — 11 See KRAUS, 63. 3; 91. 3, 4 (cp. 137. 25; 139. 6); Vait. I. 5; Glk. I. 1. 28, 39; 2. 9, 18 (end); 3. 1, 2, 4. The term is familiar in the Puruṣas and in the AV. Anukramāṇi; cp. WEBER, Omnia und Portenta, p. 346 ff.; WEBER, Verz. II. 89 ff.; SBE. XLII, p. xxvii ff. — 12 See the passages cited SBE. XLII, p. xxvii, note. — 13 See ib. p. xxviii, note. — 14 See WEBER, Verz. II. 88 ff. — 15 SBE. XLII, p. xxviii; WEBER, Verz. II. 96 (cp. also 919 and 921).

## D. THE SCHOOLS OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA

§ 10. Character and sources of the reports on the schools of the AV. — Hindu tradition has fixed upon the number nine as expressing the extent to which the Atharvanic collections of hymns, or their employment in the hands of the Atharvanic practitioners was diversified by differences of treatment in Atharvanic schools (*sākhā*, *caranā*, *bheda*). Numerical statements of this sort are apt to be apocryphal; and the differences which represent to the Hindu mind sufficient reason for positing an independent *sākhā* vary greatly in scope and importance. They may be due to genuine differences in the extent and arrangement of the hymn-collections themselves; to differences of ritualistic employment of one and the same hymn-collection (*sūtra-sākhā*); to the existence of independent Upanisads among the votaries of the same *śruti*-products in all other respects, or to other more trivial points, at times of great obscurity<sup>1</sup>. These differences great and small are lumped together in the traditional Atharvanic count of nine *sākhās*, without perspective or sense of proportion; their analysis, moreover, is rendered somewhat uncertain owing to the modulations which the names of the *sākhās* have been subjected to in the course of time, inside and outside of the Atharvan, and even more by the portentous amount of blundering report on the part of the scribes unacquainted with these names.

The reports on the Atharvan *sākhās* are from the following sources: 1. The two Caranavyūhas — one, counted as the fifth Puruṣa of the White Yajur-Veda, registers the schools of the AV. in chapter one, another, figuring as the 19<sup>th</sup> Puruṣa of the AV., treats the same subject in briefer form. — 2. Incidental mention in Pāṇini, the Mahābhāṣya, and other grammatical literature. — 3. The very late over-systematic reports of the Purāṇas, and other late literature, e.g. the Saṃskaraṇapāṭi of Rāmānand. — 4. Incidental mention throughout the literature of the Atharvan, to which may be added Sāyana's list of the *sākhās* in the introduction to his commentary to the AV., p. 25<sup>2</sup>. — Sāyana's statement coincides with that of the AV. Caranavyūha, and it would seem that these two authorities present a correct list of the *sākhās* as known in their day: the different versions of other texts are due to blunders, and more or less conscious misformations and additions on the part of writers further removed from the sphere of the Atharvan. Accordingly the traditional nine *sākhās* are as follows:

§ 11. The nine *sākhās* of the AV. — 1. The Paippalāda (also, Paip-palīdaka, Pūppalīdī, Pūppalūka, Paippala, Paippalāyana, &c.), a patronymic derived from the name of a teacher Pippalīdī. In the Atharvan literature itself these names do not appear prior to the Puruṣas and the Upanisads<sup>3</sup>,

being unknown even in Kaus., Vait., and GB. The name occurs as the designation of a group of mantras which figure as an appendix to the Nakṣatrakalpa, whenever that text figures as the first Puruṣa; these mantras are in fact derived from AVP. Again, AV. 19. 56—58 in the Saunakiya are designated as *paippalāda-mantrāḥ* at the end of Ath. Pariṣ. 8. This is significant in the light of the close relation-ship of book 19 of AV. with AVP. The so-called *paippalādi-tanti-gāna*, Ath. Pariṣ. 34. 20, begins with the pratika, *saṃ no deī* (vulgate 1. 6) which is in all probability the opening verse of the Kashmirian śākhā. Further Ath. Pariṣ. 2. 3, 6; 23. 10; 24. 14; 41. CALAND. Ahnencult, p. 96, 107, 243ff., has reconstructed a considerable part of a Paippalāda-vrāddhakalpa, and surmises that the school of the Paippalāda is older than the Saunakiya. The tradition of the Atharvan Upaniṣads distributes them largely, and very secondarily, among the two more important schools, the Saunaka and the Paippalāda; one of the older Upaniṣads, the Praśna, is regularly and probably with good reason assigned to the Paippalāda. Cp. also the end of Garbha-Up. The Brahma-Up. opens with a conversation between Saunaka and Pippalāda. The name occurs also frequently in the colophons of Atharvanic writings, and is contained in all systematic reports of the śākhās, Atharvanic and otherwise<sup>9</sup>.

2. The Tauda or Taudīyana, written frequently, Stauda and Staudāyana. Appears in the literature itself only Ath. Pariṣ. 23. 3, *ā skandhād urato vā 'pī 'ti staudayanāth smṛtā* (sc. *aranyā*). The śākhā-reports have propagated this name with a brood of variants, often of the most ignorant character, contributing nothing to the real history of the name<sup>7</sup>.

3. The Mauda or Maudāyana are mentioned several times in the Pariṣiṣtas. Especially, an interesting passage, 2. 4, declares that only Saunaka and Paippalāda priests are fit to be Purohitas, whereas the kingdom whose spiritual care is in the hands of priests of the Jalada or Mauda schools rapidly goes to destruction<sup>8</sup>. Otherwise the names occur Ath. Pariṣ. 23. 3 (*mauda*), and 24. 10 (*maudāyana*), and in all systematic accounts of the śākhās with the usual corruptions<sup>9</sup>.

4. The Saunakiya or Saunakin. The term Saunakin occurs by the side of Devadarsin, Kaus. 85. 8. At Vait. 43. 25 a *saunaka*-sacrifice is prescribed for such as desire to become adepts in sorcery (*saunakayajño 'bhicārakāmagā*): the force and originality of this testimony is somewhat impaired by the occurrence of a similar statement KB. 4. 7 (cp. SS. 3. 10. 7), as we may not be sure that the RV. Brāhmaṇa has in mind an Atharvan doctor. In Ath. Paddh. at Kaus. 1. 6 the Vait. is cited as Saunakiya-sūtra; the title of the published Prātiśākhya of the AV. (vulgate) is Saunakiyā Caturadhyāyikā<sup>10</sup>; and the terms *saunaka*, *saunaki*, and *saunakiya* are common in the AV. Pariṣiṣtas. The Atharvan Upaniṣads also regard Saunaka as one of their great teachers (Mundaka 1. 1. 3; Brahma 1); one of them appears under the name of Saunaka-Upaniṣad (Shivank, in ANQUETIN's translation)<sup>11</sup>, and the commentators on these texts are apt to ascribe them for the most part either to the school of Saunaka or to that of Paippalāda. Finally all the systematic reports of the śākhās present the name, though often corrupted almost beyond recognition<sup>12</sup>.

5. The Jājala. The form of this name, which is obscured by the usual blunders in the systematic reports, may be considered as established on the strength of the unequivocal statement Ath. Pariṣ. 23. 2, *bāhumatrā devadarsinair jājalaḥ trumātrikā* (sc. *aranyā*); cp. Sāyana, Introduction, p. 25. The *ācārya* eponymous of the school seems to have been Jājali, as reported by the Mahābhāṣya<sup>13</sup>.

6. The Jalada, mentioned in the polemic statement, Ath. Pariṣ. 2. 4,



reported above under Mauda. In addition *jaladāyāna*, Ath. Paris. 23. 2, *jala-dāyanair itastir vī* (sc. *arāṇī*) *śodase 'ti tu bhārgavaḥ*.

7. The Brahnavada. Not found in Atharvan literature outside of the Caranavyūha; the outside reports of the śākhās all present the name, mostly with variants more or less corrupt.

8. The Devadarsa or Devadarśin. They occur Kauś. 85. 7, in opposition to the Śaunakin; in the grammatical gana *śaunaka* in the form *devadarśaninah*; and in Ath. Paris. 23. 2, see above under 5. The śākhā lists in spite of great corruption intend the same name.

9. The Cāranavāidyā. Mentioned by Keśava at Kauś. 6. 37, and Ath. Paris. 23. 2: *caranavaidyair jaṅke ca maudend 'śāṅgulani ca* (length of the *arāṇī*). The śākhā-lists all have the name.

§ 12. Estimate of the historical value of the śākhās, and their relation to the teachers of the Sūtras. — Aside from a difference of opinion on the part of the Śaunakin and Devadarśin in a trivial matter of measurements at Kauś. 85. 7, 8; and the polemic confrontation of the Śaunakin and Paippalāda with the Mauda and Jalada (above under 3), the only direct statement as to the belongings of these śākhās is, that Kausika's Sūtra was used by four of them, the Samakīya, Jājala, Jalada, and Brahnavada<sup>14</sup>. With the exception of the names Śaunaka (\*kin) and Devadarsa (\*sin) neither Kauś, Vait., nor GB. include these śākhā-names among those of the teachers to whom they have occasion to refer<sup>15</sup>. The Rishis and teachers of GB. are largely non-Atharvanic and wholly unusable for a reconstruction of Atharvan literary history, owing to the licentious way in which this late text has pilfered the entire Brahmanic literature<sup>16</sup>. Those of Kauś. and Vait., on the other hand, have the true ring: Kausika, Yuvan Kausika, Bhāgah, Māthara, Śaunaka (Kauś. and Vait.), Gārgya, Pārthasaravaśa, Kanakāyana, Paribubhrava, Jīṣkīyana, Kaurupathi, Isuphīli and Devadarsa (Kauś.) In addition Kauś. 140. 18 and Vait. 1. 3; 5. 13; 7. 16 mention *acaryaḥ* in the plural, both texts refer also to nameless authorities (*eke, ity ahuḥ*)<sup>17</sup>. The absence of these names from the śākhā-list of itself stamps the latter as an exceedingly late evolution, quite as late or later than the theory of the five Atharvanic Kalpas. Just as it is impossible to explain the elevation of the insignificant Śāntikalpa to a place among the five Kalpas by the side of the real Sūtras of the AV., whereas the equally trivial Asurikalpa must content itself with a place among the Parivṛtas<sup>18</sup>, so it is impossible to say why the Cāranavāidyā, Mauda, and Jalada figure as śākhās whereas the Bhārgava who are mentioned with them, Ath. Paris. 23. 2, are excluded from this honor. Several of the śākhā-names are not patronymics; they seem to point to professional phases of Atharvanic life rather than to school-differences. Thus the Brahnavada seem to allude to the function of Atharvan theologians as Brahmins (fourth priests) at the Śrauta ceremonies<sup>19</sup>, the Cāranavāidyā to the profession of wandering medicine-men; and Jalada ('water-giver') to the exceedingly common sorceries with water<sup>20</sup>. Anyhow, the śākhā-list is a medley of things of very different importance, and the tradition that the Kauś. is the book of rites (*samhitā-tidhī*) of four of these śākhās indicates pretty clearly that these 'school'-differences did not extend in every case to the Samhitās themselves, nor even to different Sūtras of the same Samhitā.

§ 13. The two Samhitā-śākhās, the Śaunakīya and the Paippalāda. — At this date there have been found no texts representing either Samhitā-śākhās, or Sūtra-śākhās, in addition to the vulgate Samhitā and the Kashmirian Samhitā. That the vulgate, together with Kauś., Vait., and GB., belongs to the school of Śaunaka may be regarded as certain. The AV. Prāti-

śākhya bears the title Śaunakīyā Caturādhyāyikā: it is the phonetic manual of the vulgate, and no other text<sup>21</sup>. The Ath. Paddh., at Kauś. 1. 6, designates Vait. as the Śaunakīya-sūtra; the dependence of Vait. upon Kauś. is certain: the Kauś. is therefore also a Sūtra of the Śaunakin<sup>22</sup>. The tradition alluded to above, that Kauś. is *cataṣṣu śākhāsu śaunakādīṣu saṃhitāvidhiḥ* points to the same conclusion independently, as does also Kauś. 85. 7, 8 where the Sūtra sides with the Śaunakin against the Devadarśin. Again the Kauś. cites the initial hymn of the vulgate (*ye triṣaptāḥ*) as *pūrtam* (or, *triṣaptiṇi*) *sūktam*, and in general cites its hymns by pratika, reproducing occasional orthographical or textual blunders: the school-correspondence of the two texts is quite complete<sup>23</sup>. On the other hand Kauś. as well as Vait. quote hymns from the Kashmirian version in full (*sakalapāṭha*)<sup>24</sup>; they cannot therefore belong to the Paippalāda. Being themselves Śaunakīya, the vulgata is by this perfect correspondence also stamped as Śaunakīya, as there is no evidence that this term was the designation of a special Sūtra-śākhā.

Hardly less conclusive is the evidence that the Kashmirian Saṃhitā belongs to the school of the Paippalāda, in accordance with the statements in the colophons of the Tübingen MS. of that Veda<sup>25</sup>. The text is there described as *ātharvanikā paippalāda-śākhā*. The evidence of the Parisistas on this point is given above under Paippalāda (p. 12): especially significant is the *paippalādi sāntigaṇa*, Ath. Paris. 34. 20 (Kauś. 9. 7, note), doubtless so called because it begins with the pratika *śam no devī*, the probable opening verse of AVP. The fact that the name *paippalāda* is found associated rather loosely with Atharvan productions in general<sup>26</sup> is paralleled frequently in the history of the Vedic śākhās and is not sufficient to cast doubt upon this conclusion. Neither Brāhmana nor Sūtras seem to have been preserved in this school, at least neither Vedic nor Atharvan literature have the least thing to say about any such works. The discovery of this śākhā in a single birch bark MS. was due to the ingenuity and the efforts of Rott: the reasons which led this scholar to surmise its existence, a history of its discovery, and a brief comparison of it with the vulgate was published by him in a Tübingen Programme in 1875, entitled 'Der Atharvaveda in Kaschmir'; cp. the same author in the Atti del IV. Congresso Internazionale degli orientalisti, vol. II, p. 89—96. A photographic reproduction of the Tübingen MS. is proposed by the present author<sup>27</sup>. The readings of the Paippalāda texts in those parts of the Veda which correspond with the Śaunakīya are to be presented in WILHELM's posthumous translation and critical apparatus of the Śaunakīya<sup>28</sup>. Connected passages of AVP. are occasionally cited in full in Kauś. and Vait.; the Paippalāda form of AV. 11.2 appears in a R̥caka of the Kāthaśā school, described by VON SCHROEDER<sup>29</sup>. Sāyana in his commentary to the Śaunakīya occasionally adopts readings from the Paippalāda<sup>30</sup>.

§ 14. Brief account of the Paippalāda-śākhā. — The AVP, like the Śaunakīya is divided into 20 books, subdivided into anuvākas and sūktas; the latter, like the books themselves, are sometimes designated as lāṇḍas. The relation of AVP. to the vulgate (represented in the sequel by the numbers in brackets) is as follows: the opening stanza of AVP. was in all probability the stanza *śam no devī* (1. 1. 6), as was surmised by Rott, p. 16; the opening stanza of the Śaunakīya, *ye triṣaptāḥ*, heads the second anuvāka of the first book of AVP.<sup>31</sup> The pratikas of the remaining books are: 2. *arasaṃ prāṇam* (4. 7. 1); 3. *ā tvā gan* (3. 4. 1); 4. *hiraṇyagarbhas* (4. 2. 7); 5. *prāṇabāhvaḥ sindhuśātāyai*; 6. *tad id āsa* (5. 2. 1); 7. *suparṇas tvā* (5. 14. 1); 8. *katha diśa asurāja* (5. 11. 1); 9. *urdhva aya* (5. 27. 1); 10. *na tad vido jad*; 11. *iṣṭa te 'ham*; 12. *imaṃ stomam arhate* (20. 13. 3); 13. *agnis takmānam*

(5. 22. 1); 14. *indrasya nu* (2. 5. 5); 15. *samyag dighyah*; 16. *antakāya* (8. 1. 1); 17. *satyaṁ brhad ītam* (12. 1. 1); 18. *satyenottabhita* (14. 1. 1); 19. *doso gāya* (6. 1. 1); 20. *dhītī vā ye* (7. 1. 1).

Books 1—7 of the Saunakiya reappear for the most part in AVP.; 8—14 almost completely. Of 15 there is only the beginning; 16 and 17 appear for the most part. On the other hand the funeral-hymns, book 18, are wanting entirely. Of the two supplementary books, 19 and 20, the latter including the *kuntāpa*-hymns is wanting in AVP., except those stanzas which are not *kuntāpa* and are not borrowed from the RV.<sup>32</sup>; book 19 with the exception of about 12 of its 72 hymns is scattered through the AVP., showing that this supplement to the Saunakiya is largely derived from its sister-śākhā. The arrangement of the two Vedas is to a certain extent on parallel lines: books 1—5 of the Saunakiya are contained in 1—9 of AVP.; books 8—11 in the large book 16; book 12 in 17; books 13, 14, 16, 17 in 18: the one notable divergence concerns 6 and 7 of the Saunakiya: they appear in 19 and 20 of AVP. The variations between the two texts range all the way from inconsiderable variants to complete change of sense. Perfect textual correspondence between parallel stanzas and hymns of the two śākhās is comparatively rare. About one eighth or one ninth of AVP. is original, being found neither in the Saunakiya nor in any other of the accessible collections of mantras<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. OLDENBERG, Die Hymnen des Rig-Veda, p. 430 ff. — <sup>2</sup> See, MAX MÜLLER, HIAI., p. 371; WFFER, IS. I. 152, 296; III. 277—8, XIII. 434—5; Omnia und Portenta, p. 412—3; WIL., p. 170; KAJENDRAIA MITRA in the introduction to the Gopāthā-brāhmaṇa, p. 6; Śabdakalpādruma, s. v. *ecet*, ROTH, Der AV. in Kaschmir, p. 24 ff.; STUBB, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der vedischen Schulen, p. 31; MLOOSHEID, JAOS, XI. 377—8; Kausika, Introduction, p. xxviii. — <sup>3</sup> See JACOB'S Concordance, under *pippalāda*, and *pāppalāda*. — <sup>4</sup> See ROTH, AV. in Kaschmir, p. 12; the mantras are printed in, BLOOMFIELD, Seven Hymns of the AV., AJPh. VII. 486—7. — <sup>5</sup> See COLERIDGE, Essays II, p. 93. DITSEH, Sechzig Upanishad's, pp. 531, 559. — <sup>6</sup> See Kaus., introd., p. xxviii. — <sup>7</sup> See, *ibid* p. xxvii. — <sup>8</sup> JAOS XI. 378 note. — <sup>9</sup> Kaus., *ibid*. — <sup>10</sup> WHITNEY, JAOS, VII. 333 ff. — <sup>11</sup> DIUSSEN, Sechzig Upanishad's, p. 867 ff. — <sup>12</sup> Kaus., *ibid* xxv. — <sup>13</sup> IS. XIII. 435. — <sup>14</sup> STUBB, Introduction, p. 25, and Kāśīya and Atharvāpaddhanti in their respective introductions. — <sup>15</sup> JAOS, XI. 384, Gopāthā-brāhmaṇa, list of proper names, at the beginning of the edition. — <sup>16</sup> See below § 65. 99. — <sup>17</sup> See the indexes, especially Kaus. p. 371. — <sup>18</sup> JAOS XI. 378 ff., Kaus. introd. p. xxvii. MARGON, Āsurikāṭṭa, AJPh. X. 164 ff.; cp. below, § 16. — <sup>19</sup> See below, § 33. — <sup>20</sup> Cp. SHF. III. Index, under 'waters', and the items, *apimuktam*, *abhisekṣana*, *śrāṭh*, *mahāsmṛti*, *saṅghāṇa*, *śāddhū*, *śāddhū*, etc. in Kaus., Index B, p. 383 ff. — <sup>21</sup> The Kaus. follows some of the orthographic peculiarities of the vulgate as described by AV. Irāṇis. see Kaus., introd., p. xxviii. — <sup>22</sup> The GR. is in turn dependent upon Vāt and exhibits no independent school traits; see below § 61. — <sup>23</sup> Kaus. introd. p. xxviii ff. — <sup>24</sup> Kaus. 72, 91; 107, 115; Vāt. 10, 17; 14. 1; 24. 1. see ROTH, AV. in Kaschmir, p. 23, GERTS, Vāṭina Sūtra (text), p. vii; JAOS XI. 377. — <sup>25</sup> ROTH, *ibid* p. 12, Kaus. introd. p. xxviii. — <sup>26</sup> So, e.g., the Trīṇī-Upaniṣad, because the teacher Pippalāda figures in it, see above, p. 12; Kaus. *ibid*; WHITNEY, Index verborum, p. 2, note. — <sup>27</sup> JAOS Vol. XX, p. 184 ff. — <sup>28</sup> See, JAOS XI, p. cxxiii. — <sup>29</sup> See note 24, v. SHUKOR-198, Die Tübinger Kāṭhā Handschriften, p. 14 ff (SWAW. 1895, vol. CXXXVII, part IV; cp. IS. XIII. 417). Some stanzas of AVP. are quoted also in GR.; see ROTH, *ibid* p. 23. — <sup>30</sup> WHITNEY, Festgruss an R. v. Roth, p. 92. — <sup>31</sup> Cp. Kaus. introd., p. xxvii. — <sup>32</sup> See WHITNEY, Index Verborum, p. 2; cp. below § 62. — <sup>33</sup> See, ROTH, *ibid*, p. 15—20.

## II. BRIEF SKETCH OF ATHARVANIC LITERATURE.

§ 15. The Samhitās, Sūtras, and Brāhmaṇa. — The literature of the Atharvan comprises the two collections of hymns connected by tradition respectively with the schools of Saunaka and Pippalāda<sup>1</sup>. The latter exists only in a single hitherto unpublished samhitā-manuscript without pada-pāṭha

or commentary; the former in numerous mss. of both *samhitā* and *pada-pāṭhi*, except that no *pada*-text of the so-called *kuntūpa*-hymns has as yet come to light<sup>2</sup>; it probably does not exist at all. It has been edited by ROTH and WHURNEY (Berlin 1855). The *pada-pāṭha* of the *Saunakiya* is characterized in relation to other *pada* texts by WEBER, IS. XIII. 6 ff. It is particularly blundering in the corrupt book 19, but also liable to serious error elsewhere; e.g., it divides *stuvannemi* into *stuvan nemi*, instead of *stuvann emi* (4. 28. 3<sup>b</sup>), or *yadyāmam* into *yad yāmam*, instead of *yady āmam* (6. 116. 1<sup>v</sup>). A fragmentary commentary on the *Saunakiya* with an elaborate introduction, containing a valuable sketch of the more important accessory *Atharvan* texts, and an *Atharvanic* view of the character and importance of the *AV.*, is as usual ascribed to *Sāyana*; this commentary is now in the course of publication<sup>3</sup>. The most important accessory text of the *AV.* is the *Sūtra* of *Kauṣika*<sup>4</sup>. It comprises, along with a good deal of peculiar matter, the themes ordinarily treated in the *Gṛhya-sūtras*, and, in addition, what may be called an *Atharva-Sūtra* proper, or a *Vidhāna-Sūtra*: cp. the frequent designation of the text as *samhitā-vidhi*<sup>5</sup>. The *Kauṣ.* belongs to the *Saunakiya*-school, or to a school deviating from the *Saunakiya* only in minor matters; there is however a later tradition that it was used as the *Sūtra* of four of the *Atharvanic* schools or *śikhās*, the *Saunakiya* at the head<sup>6</sup>. In addition to the commentary of *Dārila*, the *Paddhati* of *Kesava*, and other minor *Paddhatis*, the *Kauṣ.* seems also to have been commented upon by *Bhadra* and *Rudra*<sup>7</sup>; judging from quotations of these writers (*Kauṣ.* p. 312, 338, and 352) their works are composed in *ślokas* of a late *Smṛti* character. The *Atharvan* has also a *Śrauta-sūtra*, the authorless *Vaitāna-Sūtra* which also belongs to the school of *Saunaka*; the published text contains eight *adhyāyas*<sup>8</sup>: an appendix called *Yajñaprāyaścitta-sūtra*, or *Vaitāyana*, consists of six *adhyāyas* which are as yet unedited<sup>9</sup>. SHANKAR PANDIT in the introduction to *AV.* 11. 2 mentions a commentary on *Vait.* called *Ākṣepa* by *Somādiya*. The relation of *Vait.* to *Kauṣ.* and the *AV. Samhitā* is quite peculiar as compared with the inter-relation of the corresponding texts in other schools. As a rule the *Gṛhya-sūtras* are dependent upon the *Śrauta-sūtras*; they refer to them familiarly, and do not describe a second time performances which have been treated in the *Śrauta-sūtras*. The two *Atharvan Sūtras* reverse this relation: there is no point in which *Kauṣ.* depends upon *Vait.*; on the other hand the dependence of *Vait.* upon *Kauṣ.* is apparent at almost every step. The *Vait.* treats the *Kauṣ.* as though it were a *Samhitā*; the ritual practices and independent mantras of *Kauṣ.* are taken for granted, and alluded to as understood by and known to the *śrauta*-priests practicing with *Vait.* From the point of view of the other *Śrauta-sūtras* the *Vait.* may be judged as follows: it is not the product of practices in *śrauta*-ceremonies which have slowly and gradually developed in a certain high priestly school, but a somewhat conscious product, made at a time when the *Atharvavedins* began to feel the need of a distinctive *Śrauta*-manual to support their claim that the *AV.* is a canonical *Veda* of independent and superior character. *Vait.* 1. 8 acknowledges its dependence upon the *Yajur-Veda*<sup>10</sup>. To the *Saunaka*-school belongs also the single *Brāhmaṇa* of the *AV.*, the *Gopatha-brāhmaṇa* which is in turn later than and dependent upon the *Vaitāna*: see § 6 f.

§ 16. The *Kalpas* and the *Parīṣiṣṭas*.—With the above-mentioned *Sūtras* three other texts of slight intrinsic importance are associated: *Hindu* tradition persistently states that the ritual literature attached to the *AV.* consists of five *Kalpas*<sup>11</sup>. The (*pūrva*-)*mūlān* *sā*-teacher *Upavarṣa*<sup>12</sup> goes so far as to assert that these five are *śruti* (*śataditya*), contrasting them with others that are *smṛtitulya*<sup>13</sup>. Priests practicing with these five *kalpas* are known as

*pañcakalpa* or *pañcakalpin*<sup>14</sup>. The rather variable nomenclature of these texts is: 1. The Kausika-sūtra, or Samhitā-vidhi, or Samhitā-kalpa. 2. The Vaitāna-sūtra, or Vitāna-kalpa<sup>15</sup>. 3. The Nakṣatrakalpa. 4. The Sānti-kalpa. 5. The Āṅgīrasa-kalpa, or Abhicāra-kalpa, or Vidhāna-kalpa. The last three are *Parīṣiṣṭas*, intrinsically not at all more interesting than many of the numerous Atharvan texts of that class: why they should have been deemed worthy of a place by the side of the real Sūtras does not appear. No mss. of the Āṅgīrasa-kalpa have as yet come to hand, nor are there any announced in the ms. catalogues: our previous surmise that the text would bear upon the sixth book of Kauś. is rendered probable by Sāyana's brief summary of its contents (introd. p. 28). The Nakṣatrakalpa is called a *Parīṣiṣṭa* outright, and is frequently found at the head of the *Parīṣiṣṭa*-mss.; this text, as well as the still more trivial Sāntikālpā are in the main of an astro-nomic-astrologic character<sup>16</sup>. The *Parīṣiṣṭas*, according to HATFIELD's count 72 in number<sup>17</sup>, deal with a great variety of subjects; leaving aside the Nakṣatrakalpa (nr. 1) and its appendix, the so-called Paippalādī Mantrāḥ (nr. 1<sup>2</sup>), they begin with a considerable number of texts in the nature of *rājākarmāṇi* (royal rites), and end with a little less numerous a class of *adbhutaṇi* (omens and portents), thus continuing in these, as in other cases, the tradition of the Kauś. (14—17, and adhyāya XIII). A considerable number of these texts are devoted to grammatical, text-historical, or astronomical subjects, of a degree of interest that calls for a critical edition of the entire collection. Quite a number of them are even now edited or adequately discussed: the Paippalādī Mantrāḥ (1<sup>2</sup>) have been reproduced by BLOOMFIELD<sup>18</sup>, the Indramahotsava (19) is very similar to the corresponding chapter, Kauś. 140, the Skandayāga or Dhūrtakalpa (20), a kind of a thieves' manual, has been edited and translated by GOODWIN<sup>19</sup>; the Gaganmālā (32) is worked up in connection with the corresponding groups in the Kauś.<sup>20</sup>; the Asurīkalpa (35), a witch-craft practice undertaken with the *asurī*-plant, has been edited and translated, with the aid of a native commentary, by MAGOUN<sup>21</sup>, the Śrāddhakalpa (44) has been edited and translated by CALAND<sup>22</sup>, the Uttamapaṭala (46) is treated in part by WEBER<sup>23</sup>, the Kautsavya (or, Kutsavya) Niruktanighaṇṭu (48) has been commented upon and compared with Yāska's Nighaṇṭu by BLOOMFIELD<sup>24</sup>, the Caranavyūha (49) is discussed by WEBER<sup>25</sup>, the Grahayuddha (51) has been edited by WEBER<sup>26</sup>, the Adbhutasānti (67) is for the most part reproduced and translated by WEBER<sup>27</sup>, the Aśvanasādbhūtāṇi has been edited and translated by HATFIELD<sup>28</sup>. Aside from *Parīṣiṣṭas* and *Paddhats* there exist also mss. of certain prayer and ritual books of a yet slighter importance and probably later date than the *Parīṣiṣṭas*, e. g. an Atharva-tarpaṇam, the Atharvanapramitīkṣarī of Vāsudeva, the Soḍaśopacāraṇaḥ; and *rahasya*-texts<sup>29</sup>. Hemādri in the Vratakhanda of the Caturvargacintāmaṇi presents an Atharvakavidhāna<sup>31</sup>. For an Atharvavedoktaṃ jyotiṣam written by a *pañcakalpin* see WEBER, *Verz. II*, p. 96, for a similar text called Āranyaka jyotiṣam, HAUG, *IS. IX.* 174.

§ 17. On the Smṛti of Pāṭhīnāsī — The question raised by the present author<sup>31</sup> as to whether Pāṭhīnāsī, the reputed author of a work on *dharma*, belongs to the AV., has been answered in the affirmative by FISCHER<sup>32</sup>, CALAND<sup>33</sup>, JOLLY<sup>34</sup>, and HILLEBRANDT<sup>35</sup>. FISCHER regards Pāṭhīnāsī as the author of a *Dharma-sāstra* in mixed prose and śloka; CALAND and JOLLY as the author of a *Dharmasūtra*. And CALAND concludes that Pāṭhīnāsī was at any rate an Atharvanic writer, because the Śrāddhakalpa of this author reconstructed from Hemādri's citations, is related to the Atharvan *śrāddha*-texts<sup>36</sup>. It would seem possible, however, that there existed more than one Pāṭhīnāsī.

The Ātharvāṇiya-paddhati describes him as an author of a Paddhati; the citations in the Atharvanic commentaries<sup>37</sup> seem to point to a knowledge of special Atharvanic rites so particular as to make it seem quite likely that some Paīṭhīnasi was the author of a very late metrical text, dependent directly upon the Kausika. Paīṭhīnasi in the Parisiṣṭas is called Mausaliṣputra; he seems also not likely to have been the author of the *dharma*-text in question. At any rate it will be well to remember that if all references to Paīṭhīnasi are intended for the *dharma*-writer it will not be easy to assign to him too late a date.

§ 18. The Atharvan Upaniṣads. — With the AV. are associated traditionally the great mass of the Upaniṣads<sup>38</sup>, in fact all except those that belong definitely to schools of the other three Vedas. Some of these, even, appear in Atharvanic recensions, e. g., the Kena (SV.), Bhṛguvalli, Ānandavalli (Taittirīya-Upaniṣads = TA. 8 and 9), and Brhannārāyana (= Mahānārāyana = TA. 10)<sup>39</sup>. What ought to be an authoritative statement of the number and names of the Atharvan Upaniṣads is the list of 27 presented by the 49<sup>th</sup> Parisiṣṭa, the Caranavyūha<sup>40</sup>; they are: 1. Muṇḍaka. 2. Praśna. 3. Brahmanvidyā. 4. Kṣurikā. 5. Cūlikā. 6. Atharvasīras. 7. Atharvasikhā. 8. Garbha. 9. Mahā. 10. Brahma. 11. Prāññihotra. 12. Māṇḍūkya. 13. Nāda-bindu. 14. Brahmanbindu. 15. Amṛtabindu. 16. Dhyānabindu. 17. Tejōbindu. 18. Yogasikhā. 19. Yogatattva. 20. Nīlarudra. 21. Pañcatāpini (†tāpanīya). 22. Ekadāṇḍisamnyāsa. 23. Aruṇi. 24. Haṁsa. 25. Paramahaṁsa. 26. Nārāyana. 27. Vaitathya. The majority of the names in this list require no explanation: the Pañcatāpini is doubtless the Nṛsīṅhapūrvatāpanī; one ms. reads Dvītāpini, having in mind probably the additional Nṛsīṅhottaratāpanī. The term Ekadāṇḍisamnyāsa is otherwise unknown as a designation of an Upaniṣad; the stem *ekadāṇḍin* (cp. schol. to PB. 19. 4. 7) occurs in Brahma 3; Paramahaṁsa 3; and Gopīchandana 5; cp. the ms. listed as a Dharmasūtra under the title Ekadāṇḍisamnyāsa-vidhiḥ, by Saunaka, in STEIN'S Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. at Jammu, p. 84. I do not venture to assume that the text is identical with the well-known Samnyāsa-Upaniṣad. The Vaitathya is the independent name of the second of the four parts of Gauḍapāda's Kīṛikā to the Māṇḍūkya, all of which are usually counted as independent Upaniṣads<sup>41</sup>. The presence in this list of the work of a personal author makes for the belief that it, like all other Upaniṣad lists, is late and eclectic, representing the learning of some particular scholar or coterie of scholars. It does not coincide with any other historical collection, as, e. g., the collection of the Muktikā-Upaniṣad; the Persian translation of the Oupnekhat in ANQUETIL-DUPERRON'S Latin translation; NĀRĀYAṆA'S collection; COLEBROOKE'S collection; or the lists of the CHAMBERS collection<sup>42</sup>. JIVĀNANDA'S 'Atharvanopanishat' (Calcutta 1891), to be sure, contains 29 Upaniṣads, but they are copied, apparently, from the unfinished edition in five fasciculi, printed in the Bibliotheca Indica. They also are the result of an independent selection of the minor Upaniṣads, differing from that of the Parisiṣṭa in the choice and order of the texts. There is in fact no complete collection of Upaniṣads, because the term Upaniṣad does not represent a closed canon but an indefinitely extensible type of literature 'which has not been formally concluded and which may yet be continued in the present or the future'. The number of Upaniṣad-names counted by WEBER in 1876<sup>43</sup> was all in all 235, including apocrypha; even a Moslemic Allopaniṣad figures among them. The judgment of the intrinsic and historical value of the Atharvan Upaniṣads does not therefore depend upon any one collection; their value — in the first instance their historical value — depends upon the degree of regularity with which they occur in the collections. Even so it is obvious that literary products of the most diversified character (cp., e. g., the

Gāruḍa, a snake-charm) have found their way into the principal collections, all of which are probably relatively late, so that finally the chronology and the value of each Upaniṣad will have to be determined by its style, contents and other inner criteria<sup>44</sup>.

DEUSSEN, extending and developing a suggestion of WEBER, divides the Atharvan Upaniṣads into five clearly defined classes<sup>45</sup>: 1. Pure Vedānta-Upaniṣads, i. e., such as continue the Vedānta doctrines of the older texts without undue development of the notions of *yoga* (concentration, and abstraction from all mundane matters), *śaṃyāna* (asceticism), or *Saivaitic or Viṣṇuitic symbolism*, beyond where these ideas had developed in the older Upaniṣads. 2. Yoga-Upaniṣads, i. e., such as presuppose the Vedānta ideas, and in addition advise concentration upon the morae of the sound *om*, especially its last half mora (*māda*). 3. Śaṃyāna-Upaniṣads, i. e., those which recommend and describe a life of asceticism as the practical result of the doctrines of the Upaniṣads. 4. Śiva-Upaniṣads, i. e., such as interpret the popular god Śiva or one of his *murtis* (Iśāna, Maheśvara, Mahādeva, etc.) as a personification of the Ātman. 5. Viṣṇu-Upaniṣads, i. e., those which similarly transform Viṣṇu or one of his *avatāras* (Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsiṃha, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa) into human manifestations of the Ātman. Of these classes the first (cp. AV. 10. 7 and 8; 11. 4 and 8), the third (cp. AV. 11. 5) and the fourth (cp. AV. 4. 28; 11. 2) might be expected to be in organic touch with the hymns of the AV. But this is not the case: the Atharvan Upaniṣads are connected with the AV. Samhitā by ties that are but little more close than those that connect them with the Vedic mantras in general. There is one notable exception, the Cūlikā, which presents (śloka 10 ff.) characteristically as '*mantropaniṣad*' an almost complete catalogue of the cosmogonic and theosophic hymns of the AV, naming them by well selected catch-words, such as *brahmacarin* (11. 5), *skambha* (10. 7 and 8), *ucchiṣṭa* (11. 7), etc.<sup>46</sup> Otherwise the Atharvan hymns are cited only sporadically, not more frequently or familiarly than mantras of the other Vedas<sup>47</sup>. In addition the relation of these texts to the AV. is of the loosest sort: they are apt to add the name of the AV. to that of the *trayī* more regularly than the older Upaniṣads<sup>48</sup>, and the names of their holy Rishis are to a considerable extent those of earlier as well as later Atharvanic tradition. Atharvan, Aṅgiras (from which Mūṇḍaka 1. 1. 2 abstracts Aṅgī), Bhṛgu, Śaunaka, Pippalīdi. The last two are the names of two Atharvan schools, being the only names of the traditional *śikṣās* that are mentioned in the AV. Upaniṣads. With one or the other of these two school-names the commentators are apt to associate loosely and inconsistently the individual Upaniṣads as special school-products<sup>49</sup>. COLLIER, e. g., reports that the first fifteen in his count belong to the Śaunaka-school; and the colophon of the Prasna states that itself belongs to the *pippalādātharvane śikṣhāyam* (!)<sup>50</sup>. But, aside again from the Cūlikā which distinctly refers to the Śaunakīya, there is little or nothing in the texts themselves that binds them to one or the other Atharvan school, or for that matter, to the AV. itself, as a whole. This is rather striking at the first glance, because the theosophic hymns of the AV. seem to herald the Upaniṣad speculations more loudly than the theosophic mantras of the other Vedas, and because the later ritual literature of the AV., notably the GB, professes to be devoted to a knowledge of the *brahma*. The GB, moreover, notably in its first prapīṭhikā, resembles the Upaniṣads in diction and style; especially its speculations on the syllable *om* remind one of the *yoga*-class of Upaniṣads. Indeed one of the treatises of GB, the *om* cosmogony<sup>51</sup> was regarded as an Upaniṣad by the Persian translators: the *Pranava* (Pranava) in ANQUETIL'S translation is almost identical with GB. 1. 1. 16—39, a fact which will be of

especial interest to WEBER and DEUSSEN<sup>52</sup>. Another treatise, that on the *gūyatrī* (GB. I. 1. 31—38)<sup>53</sup> describes itself at the end as an Upaniṣad: it also suggests, without being at all like it, the Shavank of ANQUETIL'S Oupnekhat<sup>54</sup>. But there was probably, nevertheless, a greater break in time between Mantra and Upaniṣad in the AV. than in the other Vedas: the older AV. Upaniṣads doubtless grew up in priestly communities that practiced with the AV.; the more secondary and recent ones are the products of later mystic, ascetic, and sectarian speculations which were compelled to associate themselves also with the AV., because less rigid school discrimination obtained at all times in the AV., and because the canons of the other Vedic schools were definitely closed. As it is texts like the Jābala or the Nīlarudra (cp. VS. 16 and 13) are in some aspects paradoxical members of a collection that professes to be Atharvanic. The bibliography and contents of the Atharvan Upaniṣads may now be studied conveniently, aside from WEBER'S pioneer treatment, in connection with DRUSSEN'S excellent translations with introductions (Sechzig Upanishads, p. 531 ff.).

§ 19. Grammatical and text-historical treatises. — Of grammatical and text-historical books the most important is the AV. Prātisākhya, the so-called Saunakiyā Caturādhyāyikā, in WHITNEY'S careful edition<sup>55</sup>. BÖHLER has reported on another AV. Prātisākhya different from the preceding<sup>56</sup>. A grammatical text called Ātharvanasūtra by Pāṇiniya seems to have been known to Trīkūṇḍamanjana<sup>57</sup>. The so-called Nirukta-nighaṇṭu of Kautsavya or Kautsavaya (Ath. Paris. 48) is a collection of glosses similar to Yaska's Nighaṇṭu, not a *nirukta*-text at all<sup>58</sup>. Note also the Varnapaṭala, Ath. Paris. 47. The Caranavyūha and the Uttamapaṭala, interesting for the history of Atharvan texts, have been mentioned above (p. 17). The unpublished *brhatsarvānuक्रमanikā* of the AV. is a very late and secondary text of that sort; its statements, especially those on the authorship of the hymns (mostly gods or semi-divine beings) are of minimal value<sup>59</sup>. The *pañcapaṭalīkā* is another text of the nature of an *Anukramanī*, mostly metrical<sup>60</sup>. The Caranavyūha mentions four related texts as '*lakṣaṇagranthāḥ*', namely, *caturādhyāyikā prātisākhyaṃ pañcamapaṭalīkā* ('*daṇḍiyosphaṭidhīr brhatsarvānuक्रमanī ca*<sup>61</sup>). A work on accentuation, the Svara-śāstra was known traditionally to one of the Pandits of SHANKAR PANDIT'S acquaintance<sup>62</sup>.

WEBER, *Verz.* I. 82 ff., II. 79 ff., VI. 1, p. 161 ff.; BLOOMFIELD, JAOŚ. XI. 375 ff.; HILLEBRANDT, *Kritisch. Literatur*, p. 35 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Some data on the Paippalāda (AP.) are presented (on ROTI'S authority) above, p. 14 ff.; for the Śaunakiya see the entire second part of this book. — <sup>2</sup> See ROTI, AV. in Kachmir, p. 8; WHITNEY, *Index Verborum*, p. 4; the *lunāṭṭa*-hymns are analyzed below, § 63. — <sup>3</sup> See the introductory notes below p. 40. — <sup>4</sup> The *Kauṣika Śāstra* of the Atharva-veda, with extracts from the commentaries of Dāṇḍa and Keśava. Edited by MATTHEW BLOOMFIELD (Vol. XIV of JAOŚ); cp. HILLEBRANDT, *Ritual-Literatur*, p. 36. — <sup>5</sup> WINDMICH, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, Nov. 21, 1891, column 1003 ff. — <sup>6</sup> See above, p. 13; cp. FISCHER, GGA., April 15, 1891, nr. 8, p. 253. — <sup>7</sup> JAOŚ. XI, p. 376; Kauś. *Introd.* p. xv and xvii. — <sup>8</sup> Edited and translated by EDWARD GARKE, respectively, London, 1878, and, Strassburg, 1878. The Vait. begins with the words, *atha vaitarāya*. On a remote possibility of connecting the Vairāna with the name Kaśyapa, see JAOŚ. XI. 377. — <sup>9</sup> See GARKE, *Introd.* to his edition, p. 1; WEBER, *Verz.* II, p. 83; BLOOMFIELD, *Cat. nr.* 367; BLOOMFIELD, *ApJh.* XVIII, 352. — <sup>10</sup> JAOŚ. XI. 379 ff., HILLEBRANDT, l. c. p. 36 (*ApJh.* *Ind.*). — <sup>11</sup> JAOŚ. *Ind.* 376 ff.; HILLEBRANDT, l. c. — <sup>12</sup> GOSWAMI, *Essays* II, 310 ff. — <sup>13</sup> The latter class is represented probably by *Pañcāṅga*-texts like the *Ācārakalpa*, or the *Dharmakalpa* (*Sāṅdayāga*). — <sup>14</sup> See above, p. 10. — <sup>15</sup> Occasionaly the name *Saunakiya śāstra* may be expected to turn up; cp. JAOŚ. *Ind.* p. 377, note 3. — <sup>16</sup> JAOŚ. *Ind.* p. 378. Kauś. *Introd.* p. xiv. Summaries of both texts are given by ŚIVAKA, *Introduction*, p. 27 ff.; WEBER, *Nalātā* II, p. 372 ff. The Nalā is occasionally referred to by its initial words *ṛṣiṣa rohiṇi*,



WEBER, *Verz.* II, p. 89, l. 7. — <sup>17</sup> JAOŚ. XIV, p. clviff; cp. WEBER, *Verz.* I, p. 89ff; II, p. 87ff. — <sup>18</sup> AJPh. VII, p. 485ff. — <sup>19</sup> JAOŚ. XV, p. vff. — <sup>20</sup> See Index II, p. 383ff. — <sup>21</sup> Baltimore Dissertation: AJPh. X. 165-197. — <sup>22</sup> Ahnenkult, p. 95, 240ff. This Śrāddhakalpa belongs to the school of Saṃnakā. Out of Hemidra's Caturvargacintāmaṇi CALAND, *ibid.* p. 243ff., has reconstructed a Śrāddhakalpa belonging to the Paippalāda-school; he also presents fragments from the same source of *śrāddha*-ceremonies according to the *smṛti* of Panthinaśi (p. 109ff); cp. the next paragraph. — <sup>23</sup> WILFR, *IS.* IV, 431ff. — <sup>24</sup> JAOŚ. XV, p. xlviii ff. Cp. also the curious *mṛgaṅga*-like passage, *TB* 3. 10. 1. — <sup>25</sup> *Wl.* 2, p. 170 (cp. *IS.* III, 247ff.); WEBER, *Verz.* I. 92; II. 83. — <sup>26</sup> *IS.* X. 317ff. — <sup>27</sup> Omina und Portenta, p. 320ff. — <sup>28</sup> JAOŚ. XV, 207ff. — <sup>29</sup> For a list of such texts see JAOŚ. XI, p. cxxvi, and cp. *ALFRED'S Catalogue Catalogorum*. The *Atharvatarpanam* is, of course, likely to be the same as *Ath. Pariś.* 43. — <sup>30</sup> WILFR, *Verz.* I, p. 332. — <sup>31</sup> JAOŚ. XI, 376; Kaus. *Introd.* p. xxviff. — <sup>32</sup> GGA, 1891, nr. 8, p. 283. — <sup>33</sup> Ahnenkult, p. 99, 109ff. — <sup>34</sup> *Recht und Sitte*, p. 12ff. — <sup>35</sup> *Ritual-Literatur*, p. 36. — <sup>36</sup> CALAND, *ibid.* 95, 107ff. — <sup>37</sup> Kaus. *Introd.* p. xxviff. — <sup>38</sup> *MILASL*, p. 328ff; MAX MÜLLER, *ZDMG.* XIX, 137ff; WEBER, *IS.* I. 247ff, 380ff; II. 1ff., 170ff; III. 324ff; IX. 1ff; *IS.* II. 135; III. 585ff; *Wl.* 2 170ff (especially p. 171, note 3); DEUSSEN, *Sechzig Upanishad's*, p. 531ff. — <sup>39</sup> *Wl.* 2, p. 172ff. — <sup>40</sup> WEBER, *Verz.* II. 88; HATFIELD, JAOŚ. XIV, p. clx. — <sup>41</sup> DEUSSEN, *ibid.* p. 575, 583ff. — <sup>42</sup> *ibid.* p. 532ff; WEBER, *Verz.* I. 95. — <sup>43</sup> *Wl.* 2, p. 171, note 3. — <sup>44</sup> DEUSSEN, *ibid.* — <sup>45</sup> *IS.* 251; *Wl.* 2, p. 173; DEUSSEN, p. 543. — <sup>46</sup> See below, § 59. — <sup>47</sup> E. g. AV. 3. 20. 1; Jibāla 4; AV. 4. 1. 11. *Atharvaśāstra* 1; AV. 4. 4. 1; *Samnyāsa* 1; AV. 6. 96. 1; *Prāṇapūroṣa* 1; AV. 10. 2. 26-27. *Atharvaśāstra* 6; AV. 10. 8. 27; *Atharvaśāstra* 1; AV. 11. 4. 10 to be compared with *Prāṇa* 2. 7ff; AV. 11. 4. 13; *Mundaka* 2. 1. 7; AV. 11. 8; *Samnyāsa* 3, and *Kanṭhātruti* 5; AV. 181. *Samnyāsa* 1. — <sup>48</sup> Cp. below, § 24. — <sup>49</sup> DEUSSEN, *ibid.* p. 531. — <sup>50</sup> *Kausika*, Introduction, p. xxviii. — <sup>51</sup> See below, § 68. — <sup>52</sup> *IS.* IX, 49ff., *Sechzig Upanishad's*, p. 858ff. The *Pranavopaniṣad* is catalogued by BERNELL, *Sk. MSS in the palace of Tanjore*, 33b; STRIN, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts at Jammu*, p. 31, *Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscript Library in Madras*, p. 52, cp. also TAYLOR, *Catalogue of Oriental MSS. in Fort St. George*, II, 472. — <sup>53</sup> See below, § 69. — <sup>54</sup> DEUSSEN, p. 867ff. — <sup>55</sup> JAOŚ. VII, 333-615, X. 156-171, cp. *IS.* IV 79ff; V. 451ff, *Int.* II 230ff; *Wl.* 2, p. 165. — <sup>56</sup> SPAW. 1871, p. 77. — <sup>57</sup> BHANDARKAR, *Report* 1883-4, p. 30. — <sup>58</sup> BLOOMFIELD, JAOŚ. XV, p. xlviii ff. — <sup>59</sup> WEBER, *Verz.* II. 79ff; and in the introductions of his translations of AV, books 3-5, 14, XVII 177ff; XVIII. 1ff; SHANKAR PANDIT in his edition of the AV, vol. I, Critical note, p. 17ff. — <sup>60</sup> See the passages extracted by SHANKAR PANDIT, *ibid.* p. 18-23, cp. JAOŚ. XI 376. — <sup>61</sup> WEBER, *Verz.* II 89. — <sup>62</sup> SHANKAR PANDIT, *ibid.* p. 15 (top).

## F. THE POSITION OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA IN HINDU LITERATURE IN GENERAL.

§ 20. General estimate of the AV. — The Atharvan is a sacred text in more than one respect aside from the material which it shares with the other Vedas the majority of its hymns are benevolent or highly religious (theosophic), these cannot at any time have been received with any other sentiment than esteem. Even the sorceries of the AV. necessarily show a double face. they are useful to oneself, harmful to others. Thus there arises a conflict of emotions which lasts throughout the history of recorded Hindu thought and is summed up in the final orthodox and stereotyped view that the Atharvan is used 'to appease, to bless, and to curse'. In the long run there arose withal a strong wave of popular aversion against the Veda whose most pointed teaching is after all sorcery. This appears from the discussions of the Hindus themselves as to the orthodoxy of that Veda; from the conscious efforts of the later Atharvan writings to vindicate its character and value; from the allegorical representation of the Atharvan as 'a lean black man, sharp, irascible, and amorous'; and from occasional statements of the Vedic and Classical texts.

§ 21. The Atharvan in the RV. — The RV. has no specific designa-

tion for Atharvan charms, although it contains a goodly number of such charms. No great importance is to be attached to this silence; the praises to the gods in connection with the great soma-sacrifices offer but scant occasion for the mention of sorcery, or the plainer practices of every-day life. Yet sorcery and house-practices there were in India at all times<sup>1</sup>. The failure of the RV. to mention such charms by a collective name like *atharvaṅgirasah* must be gauged by the slenderness of its opportunities to mention the Veda as a generic name (cp. 8. 19. 5), or Vedic collections or redactions in particular (10. 90. 9)<sup>2</sup>. There is no proof that even the oldest 'Rigvedic period', or the most ancient Hindu tradition accessible historically, excluded writings which would be entitled to the name of Atharvan-charms by their subject-matter, form (metre), or style: even the absence of generic names, such as *bhṛṣajāni*, *atharvāṇah*, *ṅgirasah*, for such compositions may be due to accidental silence. The existing redactions of the AV., to be sure, betray themselves as later than the RV. redaction in many ways, especially by the character of the variants in those mantras which they share with the RV.<sup>3</sup>; certainly also a good many of existing Atharvan hymns are later than the bulk of the RV. Nevertheless, we cannot escape the conclusion that hymns of the Atharvanic type were composed simultaneously with, or even prior to those of the Rigvedic (*śrauta*) type<sup>4</sup>.

§ 22. The Atharvan in the AV. itself — The AV. alludes to its own class of compositions but rarely: 10. 7. 20 (*atharvāṅgirasah*); 11. 6. 14 (*bhṛṣajāni*). cp. also 19. 54. 5, and 19. 22. 1; 23. 19. There is to be noted also a decided advance in the association of the names Atharvan, ṅgiras and Bhṛgu with the practices and the conditions which these hymns are aimed at e.g. 4. 37. 1 where the Atharvans appear as slayers of the Rākṣas; see also 4. 3. 7, 5. 19. 1; 10. 6. 20. Especially noteworthy is the evident association of the word *ṅgirasa* with sorcery and spells, and the somewhat less clear corresponding correlation of *atharvāṇa* with auspicious charms (see above, p. 8). Otherwise the attitude of the AV. is much the same as that of the Yajus-texts: the three Vedas are often mentioned without the fourth by way of esoteric restriction to the sphere of the great Vedic (*śrauta*) ritual. Thus it augurs no contempt or neglect of the Atharvan, if in a charm constructed for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of the Vedas (7. 51; Kauś. 42. 9), only *ṛk*, *sāman*, *yajuh*, *vata*, and oblation (*haviḥ*) are mentioned: the person who here desires Vedic learning is not in training for Atharvan priesthood, and therefore does not take care to include this special branch of learning. A similar passage in a RV. Sūtra (AG. 3. 3. 1—3) does not hesitate to include the AV. on the same occasion. Even the GB. which certainly cannot be accused of Atharvaphoby (see § 66) is caught napping once or twice, and omits the AV. from systematic statements of Vedic compositions: 1. 1. 23 and 24. In fact this very omission shows that the AV. Sāphitā, unlike its ritualistic adjuncts (see § 30), is in no wise engaged either in self-glorification, or in polemics against the other Vedas: the Atharvan poets certainly are quite unconscious of any disadvantages inherent in their text, or of any contemptuous view of the AV. on the part of the adherents of the other Vedas.

§ 23. The Atharvan in the Śrauta-texts — The position of the AV. in the *śrauta* literature in general depends altogether on the practical character of these texts as exponents of the great Vedic sacrifices: these, by their very nature, exclude direct interest in the systematic charms of the *bhṛṣajāni* and *ātharvāṇika*. Such sorcery as is interwoven with the *śrauta*-performances obtains independent expression in metrical stanzas and prose formulas (*yajus*)

which are thoroughly Atharvanic<sup>12</sup>. But in the *śruti* the sphere of the Atharvan is restricted to matters that are incidental and subsidiary, intended merely to pave the way for the main issue, the successful dispatch of the sacrifice to the gods, and the undisturbed gratification of the priests (*īṣṭi* and *pṛīti*). Under these circumstances pronounced hostility against the AV., such as crops out at a later and more reflective age, would be a paradox, too silly even for the Yajus-texts and the Brāhmanas. Rigid consistency is, of course, not to be expected; witchcraft blows hot and cold from the same mouth: according as it is turned towards the inimical forces, human and demoniac, or is turned by others against oneself, it is regarded as useful or noxious. The AV. takes the same view by implication, as may be gathered from a comparison of 2. 12 with 7. 70, or 2. 7 with 6. 13 and 37. It is a question throughout of my sorcery or thy sorcery. The poet of RV. 7. 104. 15, 16 exclaims 'May I die to-day if I am a sorcerer', and makes complaint against his enemy who calls him, though he is pure, a sorcerer, and against the real sorcerer who pretends that he is pure. Though *jātu* here, as at AV. 1. 7 and 8, is regarded as devilish, the writer of SB. 10. 5. 2. 20 is not prevented from placing the *jatuvīdāḥ*, 'those that are skilled in sorcery', in solemn array with the representatives of the holiest forms of literature, the *bakṛicāḥ* etc. On the other hand even *bhṛājanī* 'cure, medicine', the altruistic province of the Atharvan, though well regarded in general, does not come off without a sneer<sup>13</sup>: we may trust that the canons of social standing and literary appreciation of a people that produced the better types of Vedic literature could not fail, in the proper mood, to estimate at its right value the wretched hocus-pocus of the *bhṛājanī*, though these were the best that the Vedic period had produced for the relief of bodily ailment. Yet the Veda without charms and sorcery would not be the Veda, and the *śruti*-texts are not in the position to throw stones at the Atharvan. Anyhow a sober survey of the position of the AV. in the *śruti* shows that this Veda, while not within the proper sphere of the greater concerns of Vedic religion, is considered within its own sphere as a Veda in perfectly good standing, the question of its relative importance, its authority, and its canonicity is not discussed, nor even suggested.

Accordingly the mythic personages Atharvan, Angiras, and Bhṛgu, and their descendants (Atharvāṇa etc.), whose proper names in the course of time are restricted more and more to the sphere of the Atharvan, continue in the *śruti* to be designations of demigods and Rishis<sup>14</sup>. These names are held in honor no more and no less than other eponyms, it being reserved for the later Atharvan writings to extol them beyond measure, and to claim for them a special position as typical Vedic saints. And this is true although the *śruti* occasionally feels the connection between these names and the sphere of the Atharvan, as when KS. 16. 13 mentions a Rishi Bhṛṣaj Atharvāṇa, the KB. 30. 6 a Rishi Ghora Angirasa<sup>15</sup>, or when PB. 12. 8. 6 states that Dadhyācī Angirasa was the chaplain (*purodhanīya*) of the gods. Even more clearly does this appear from the way in which the hymns of the AV. are alluded to in the *śruti*. Ordinarily the texts are preoccupied with the sacrificial literature in the narrower sense, and hence devote themselves to the mention and laudation of the *trayī vidyā*. On the other hand, whenever the *śruti*-texts mention, or draw upon other literary forms like *itihāsa*, *purāṇa*, *gāthā*, *sūtra*, *upaniṣad*, and many others, the Atharvan is regularly included, and that too, almost invariably in the following order: the three Vedas occupy the first three places; the AV. holds the fourth place, and next follow in variable arrangement the types *itihāsa* etc. Typical examples are: TS. 7. 5. 11. 2 — KS., Aśvamedhagrantha, 5. 2 (*angiras* alone); SB. 10. 5. 2. 10;

11. 5. 6. 4—8; 13. 4. 3. 3ff.; TB. 3. 12. 8. 2; TA. 2. 9. 2; 10. 7. 8; 11. 2; AS. 10. 7. 1ff.; SS. 16. 2. 2ff.

§ 24. The Atharvan in the Upaniṣads. — The position of the AV. in the Upaniṣads is much the same as in the *śruti* in general. Aside from the Atharvan Upaniṣads, which refer more freely to the AV., it is introduced but rarely, and in the same way as in the Śrauta texts, i. e., preceded by the *trayī*, and followed by a variable list of other types of composition: e. g. BrhU. 2. 4. 10; 4. 1. 2; 5. 11; ChU. 3. 1—4; 7. 1. 2, 4; 2. 1; 7. 1; MU. 6. 32 and 33. Very much more numerous are the cases in which the *trayī* alone occurs<sup>14</sup>, showing that the draughts upon the AV. and the subsequent literary compositions are, in general, made under the excitement of formulaic solemnity. Needless to say, the Upaniṣads with their eye aloft alike from hymn, sacrificial formula, and witchcraft-charm, have no occasion to condemn the AV., aside from that superior attitude of theirs which implies and diplomatically expresses condemnation of the entire Veda that is not *brahmanidyā*. Even the Atharvan Upaniṣads do not in general sound either the polemic or the apologetic note of the ritualistic writings of the AV. The late Pranava (Pranou) assumes the superiority of the AV.<sup>15</sup>, but the Pranava is a part of the Gopatha-Brahmana (§ 68). Besides this there is only an interpolated passage in the Prasna that tries to secure at any cost the correlation of the Atharvan with the highest *brahma*<sup>16</sup>. The authority of Atharvan teachers, Sanatkumāra, Aṅgīras, Paippalāda, etc. is, of course, invoked, by way of imparting to those texts an esoteric school-character. But in general, all that may be said is, that these tracts mention the fourth Veda along with the other three more frequently than the Upaniṣads of other schools, that the AV. is quietly added to the *trayī*, whether other literary forms like the *itiḥāsapūranam*, etc., appear in the sequel or not. Thus the four Vedas alone: Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanī 1. 2 and 4, 2. 1; Atharvasiras 1; Muktikā 12—14; Mahā 3; the four Vedas with other literary categories. Muṇḍaka 1. 1. 5, Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanī 5. 9. Even these Upaniṣads, however, occasionally lapse into the more frequent habit of the bulk of the Vedic literature, and fail to refer to the AV., whether consciously or unconsciously, it seems impossible to say. Muṇḍaka 2. 1. 6; Prasna 2. 6; Nṛsiṃhatāpanī 5. 2, Brahmanidyā 5ff. As a class the Atharvan Upaniṣads are engaged neither in defending the AV. from attack, nor in securing for it any special degree of prominence.

§ 25. The Atharvan in the Gṛhya-sūtras. — In the Gṛhyasūtras one would expect a greater degree of intimacy with the Atharvan, and hence a more frequent and less formulaic reference to its writings, since in more than one sense the Gṛhyasūtras are themselves Atharvanic. Many of their mantras are identical with, or variants of those contained in the AV. But even the Gṛhya-rites, popular, nay vulgar, as they must have been in their untrammelled beginnings were, so to speak, Rishified, and in time passed through a process of school treatment which estranged them from the Atharvan, and assimilated them, as far as possible, to the RV., SV., and YV., as the case may be. Thus the battle-charm AG. 3. 12, instead of drawing upon the very abundant mantras of this kind in the AV.<sup>17</sup>, is decked out with the scattering material of this class in the RV. Nowhere is there a marked degree of literary relationship with the AV. Sometimes the Atharvan is mentioned in the manner which is normal in the *śruti*, i. e., preceded by the *trayī*, and followed by other varieties of composition: AG. 3. 3. 1—3; ŚG. 1. 24. 8, HG. 2. 19. 16. But in ŚG 1. 16. 3 (*brahmanidyā*); PG. 2. 10. 7 (*atharvavidyā*); 2. 10. 21 (*atharvanam*); HG. 2. 3. 9; 18. 3; 20. 9 (*atharvavidyā*) there is a distinct advance along the line of later development in the more distinct and familiar

mention of the fourth Veda; this is not balanced altogether by the cases of restriction to the *trayī* (SG. 1. 22. 15; 24. 2; HG. 1. 5. 13; 2. 13. 1), or to two Vedas (AG. 1. 7. 6 = SG. 1. 13. 4 = PG. 1. 6. 3; GG. 1. 6. 19; 3. 2. 48), because these passages are to a considerable extent quotations, or modified mantras from the *śruti*. The true value of this testimony is chronological, not sentimental: the Grhyasūtras, as much as their subject-matter is akin to the AV., are not imbued with a sense of its especial value and importance, any more than the *śrauta*-texts. They handle their materials in a self-centred fashion; their reference to the AV. is formulaic in every single instance; and the greater frequency with which it is mentioned marks the later chronology of the composition of the Grhyasūtras into formal treatises<sup>18</sup>. This is illustrated significantly by the list of Rishis at the *tarpana* in the Grhyasūtras of the RV.<sup>19</sup>: here Sumantu whom very late tradition designates as the source of Atharvan-lore<sup>20</sup>, but who figures not at all in Atharvan texts, is given a prominent place. From such a late period of Atharvanic development do the Grhyasūtras derive their consciousness of the AV.

§ 26. *The Atharvan in the law-literature (dharma).*—There is yet another field of literature whose roots also reach down to the Veda, namely that of the law-books (*dharma*): in the legal Sūtras, Śītras, and Smṛtis, especially in their so-called *vyaṁhāra*-chapters, judgment must be finally passed on the unclean and sinister phases of Atharvanic activity. Here the golden rule must come up for consideration. The need of doing unto others what one would have others do unto oneself, and leaving the opposite undone, is sure to be felt and expressed. In the *dharma*-texts also the AV. retains in a measure its place by virtue of its profound hold upon popular beliefs, because indispensable sciences like medicine and astrology are Atharvanic by distinction, and because the Atharvan priest performs, especially for the king, inestimable services in the injury and overthrow of enemies. The king's chaplain (*purohita*) was in all probability as a rule an Atharvan priest (cp. Yājñav. 1. 312). But incantations, sorceries, love charms and the like do work injury, and the *dharma*-texts pronounce with no uncertain voice the judgment that the Atharvan, useful or indispensable as it is under certain circumstances, is on the whole inferior in character and position, that its practices are impure, and must be either strictly regulated, or prohibited by the proper punishments.

The AV. is not mentioned by name very frequently in the Dharma-texts<sup>21</sup>. A number of times it presents itself in the normal and formal Vedic manner, i. e. preceded by the *traitiṣṭya*, and followed by other literary types, especially the *itihāsapurāṇam*, e. g. ViDh 30. 37, BDh 2. 5. 9. 14, Yājñav. 1. 44, Aśvanasa 3. 44, Karmapradīpa 2. 5. 10. A little less frequently it holds the position of the fourth Veda in cases where no subsidiary literature is mentioned. BDh. 3. 9. 4; 4. 5. 1, VāDh. 22. 9, Aśvanasa 3. 86, Vṛddha-Hārta 3. 45. The Atharvasīras (Sīras), an Upaniṣad connected with the AV., is often mentioned, with respect of course, e. g. GDh. 19. 12; VāDh. 22. 9; BDh. 4. 1. 28; ViDh. 55. 9; Aśvanasa 4. 5. More pointedly the sacred texts of the AV. are recommended as the true weapons with which the Brāhmaṇa may slay his enemies, Manu 11. 33 (*śrutiṁ atharvāṅgirasīṁ*); the king must choose as his Purohita one skilled in the Atharvan and Aṅgiras (*atharvāṅgirasē*), Yājñav. 1. 312, the same behest is implied GDh. 11. 15, 17, where the king is enjoined to take heed of that which astrologers and interpreters of omens tell him, and to cause the Purohita to perform in his house-fire expiatory rites (*śanti*), rites for prosperity (*maṅgala*), and witchcraft-practices against enemies (*abhiśāra*)<sup>22</sup>. Such a Purohita is *eo ipso* an Atharvan priest. At BDh. 2. 8. 15. 4; ViDh.

73. 11; 81. 4 the demons called *yātudhāna* are driven out by means of sesame, in perfect accord with AV. 1. 7. 2. In the Atri-Saṃhitā (JIVĀNANDA'S collection, vol. 1, p. 45) Atharvan priests skilled in astrology are recommended for the performance of śrāddhas and sacrifices. Cp. also ViDh. 3. 75; 71. 66; Manu 7. 217; Yājñav. 1. 332.

Thus far the *dharma*-texts express regard for the AV. and conscious dependence upon its literature and its practices. But the dubious quality of the fourth Veda sounds from notes pitched in a different key. In the first place the omission of the AV. from Vedic lists which characterizes the *śrauta*-texts, is continued in the *dharma*-texts, here as there without pronounced disapproval. Thus notably in the prohibition of the other Vedas while the sound of the Sāmans is heard, only RV. and YV. are mentioned: GDh. 16. 21; VāDh. 13. 30; ViDh. 30. 26; Manu 4. 123, 124. Other cases in which the *traividya* is mentioned without reference to the AV. are BDh. 2. 8. 14. 4, 5; 4. 5. 29; Manu 1. 23; 3. 145, 11. 263—6; 12. 112; Yājñav. 2. 211. The inferiority of the AV. is stated outright at ĀpDh. 2. 11. 29. 10, 11, where it is said that the knowledge of women and Śūdras forms a supplement to the AV.<sup>21</sup>, yet more brusquely ViDh. 5. 191 counts him that recites a deadly incantation from the AV. as one of the seven kinds of assassins. More frequently performances which imply the use of the AV. are decried and punished, though the Veda is not mentioned by name. Magic rites with intent to harm enemies, and curses in general cause defilement: they are visited with severe penances, e. g. ĀpDh. 1. 9. 26. 7, BDh. 2. 1. 2. 16; GDh. 25. 7; ViDh. 37. 26; Manu 9. 290; Yājñav. 3. 289 (contrariwise Manu 11. 33). The practice of medicine is emphatically described as impure here as in the Brāhmanas<sup>22</sup>, e. g. ĀpDh. 1. 6. 18. 20, ViDh. 51. 10, GDh. 17. 17; VāDh. 14. 2, 19; Manu 3. 152; Yājñav. 1. 162 the charge, of course, reflects upon the AV. Astrology and fortune-telling are impure professions, e. g. BDh. 2. 1. 2. 16; ViDh. 82. 7; VāDh. 10. 21, Manu 3. 162 that these occupations were Atharvanic seems to follow from AV. 6. 128, Kaus. 50. 15 (cp. Atri-saṃhitā, above). An especially pointed reflection against the AV. is implied in the prohibition of *mulakriyā* or *mulakarman*, 'practices with roots', ViDh. 25. 7, Manu 9. 290; 11. 64: the brunt of this charge is without doubt directed against the AV. (see, e. g. 1. 34, 6. 138), though practices of this kind are not wanting outside of that Veda (cp. RV. 10. 145, and the Gṛhyasūtras). Finally, GDh. 15. 16; ViDh. 82. 12; Manu 3. 151; 4. 205, he that sacrifices for the common herd (*grāma-yajña*) is impure: we may presume that this kind of activity was largely, if not entirely in the hands of Atharvan priests; cp. SBE. XLII, p. xi, note.

§ 27. The Atharvan in the Mahābhārata. — The position of the AV. in the Mahābhārata is characterized by the single statement that its importance as a Veda, and its canonicity, are finally and completely established; that its practices are familiarly known and, in general, not subjected to any particular criticism. The great collection deals so largely with the interests of the Kṣatriyas as to preclude any conscious discrimination against the AV., since this Veda also is largely engaged in the interest of the kings (*rājakarman*)<sup>23</sup>. Frequently, to be sure, the prevailing Vedic habit of speaking of the threefold Veda is continued mechanically<sup>24</sup>, but the high regard for the Atharvan and its unchallenged position in the canon are proved by the quasi-cosmogonic passages in which the four Vedas figure in close affinity with the personified creator. Thus, at 5. 108. 10 — 3770 Brahman is said to have first sung the four Vedas, and at 3. 203. 15 — 13560 Brahman has the epithet Caturveda; and similarly much else of this sort<sup>25</sup>. By itself the AV. is mentioned frequently either with direct praise, or in a position of

undisputable usefulness. E. g. at 2. 11. 19 = 437 the *atharvāṅgīrasaḥ* personified, are mentioned honorifically along with other Vedic Rishis; at 5. 18. 5 = 548 ff. *Āṅgīras* praises *Indra* with mantras of the AV., hence *Indra* declares that this Veda shall thenceforth have the name *atharvāṅgīrasa*. At 12. 342. 99 = 13258 ff. *Prajāpati* declares that *Atharvan* sages fashioned him into an *Atharvan* priest devoted to the practice of the five kalpas (*pañcakālpam atharvānam*); at 3. 305. 20 = 17066 *Kuntī* knows *Atharvan* mantras (*atharvāṅgīrasī<sup>21</sup> śrutam*) which compel the gods to appear; and so on<sup>22</sup>. It is, of course, not to be expected that the *Atharvan* and its practices, notwithstanding their establishment in the good graces of the Epic writers, shall come off entirely without criticism; there must have been persons aching under its supposed inflictions, and moods alive to a full sense of its vulgarity. In such cases the Epic reflects entirely the spirit of the *dharma*-texts. Thus physicians are declared to be impure, 12. 36. 28 = 1322; 13. 90. 13 = 4282; or, practices of bad women with charms and roots are condemned, 3. 39. 6 = 2237 ff. Magic or sorcery is in general regarded as good, but yet it is possible in the view of the Epic to bewitch right so as to make it wrong, to be a *dharmābhīkārin* (12. 140. 42 = 5288), or to use foul *māyā* (7. 30. 15 = 1316 ff.): the *Atharvan* duplicity is ineradicable.

§ 28. The *Atharvan* in Sanskrit, Jaina, and Buddhist literature. — In Sanskrit literature in general the AV., though not mentioned very frequently, is just as firmly established as in the *Mahābhārata*. The *Rāmāyana* refers to the AV. but once (2. 26. 21); but the *Daśakumāracarita* (twice, chap. 2, p. 94, and chap. 3, p. 108), the *Kurātiguniya* 10. 10, and the proverbs here and there, exhibit it in undiminished usefulness and respect. *Susruta's* *Āyurveda* is naturally acquainted with the oldest source of Hindu medicine: 1. 89. 19; 122. 10. The *Purāṇas* always speak of the fourfold Veda, and present the AV. in the exalted position given it in its own ritualistic literature (see the next chapter). *paurohītyam śantipauṣṭhikān raṅgam atharvavedena karayed brahmaṭam ca* (*Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, *Prasthanabhedā*, p. 16, l. 10). The *Matasya*, as quoted by *Sāyana* in the introduction to the AV., p. 6, orders that the *Purohita* shall compass the mantras and the *Bṛhmana* of the AV., and the *Mārkaṇḍeya* claims that the king consecrated with its mantras enjoys the earth and the ocean (*Sāyana*, *ibid*)<sup>23</sup>. On the other hand the *Jamist* and *Buddhist* literatures naturally cap their small esteem of the Veda in general with occasional express condemnation of the practices of the AV. Thus the *Sūtra-kṛtāṅga sūtra* 2. 27 forbids the incantations of the *Atharvan* (*atharvānī*); or the *Aṣṭakavagga* 14. 13 of the *Sutta-nipitī* forbids the practice of the *Āthabbana-Veda*. To the condemnation of practices essentially *Atharvane* is devoted the *Mihā Silam* in the second chapter of the *Tevijja-sutta*; similarly the *Vinaya*, *Kullavagga* 5 32 2<sup>24</sup>.

§ 29. The *Atharvan* in grammatical, lexical, and text-historical works. — In grammatical, lexical, and text-historical treatises the *Atharvan* still occupies a somewhat uncertain position. *Pāṇini* 4. 3. 133, 6. 4. 174 has *ātharvāṅgīrasa* (cp. the *gaṇā* to 4. 2. 63), without defining its position<sup>25</sup>; the *Mahābhāṣya* not only mentions its *Saṃhitā* (*Saṃskṛīya* or *Paippalāda*) by the term *śiṃsino'ṅgīrasaḥ*<sup>26</sup>, but is peculiar in placing it, or rather its opening stanza, *śiṃs no deṭī*, at the head of the list of Vedic writings<sup>27</sup>: the scholar explains this unusual position of the AV. on the ground that all sacrifices begin with the expulsion of demons (*rakṣas* and *pitṛa*) from the sacrificial ground. *WIEBER* prefers to think that the Vedas of the *śrauta* (*traiśidya*) had at that time become obsolete and were only mentioned for form's sake. Perhaps the growing importance of the office of the *Brahman*, the fourth

type of priest, at the Vedic sacrifice, and the growingly frequent tenure of this office by Atharvan priests, accounts for the unusual attitude of Patañjali<sup>35</sup>. Or we may bear in mind the special practical importance of this Atharvan stanza as a purificatory prayer in the morning, manifested by the fact that it is placed at the head of many Śaunakiya-MSS. where it does not originally belong<sup>36</sup>. The Ātharvanika are also cited respectfully in the Anupada (3. 12) and Nidāna Sūtras (2. 12) of the SV.<sup>37</sup> in connection with teachers of other Vedic schools; similarly Sāyana to Mahānārāyaṇa Up. (IS. II. 100, note 2). The Caranavyūhas treat the AV. as the fourth Veda, on the same plain as the other Vedas<sup>38</sup>; the Bhṛhaddevatā 5. 15 knows the *atharvāṅgirasāḥ mantrāḥ* in active practice. Of lexical texts the Amarakośa does not mention the AV.; in the Medinikośa Atharvan figures as the name of the Veda<sup>39</sup>. But a writer as late as Hemacandra, 249, may still describe the AV. as an extract (*uddhṛti*) from the *traiśūdyā*<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This chapter is a revised abstract of the investigation on this subject printed by the author, SBL. XLII, p. xxviii—lvi; the paragraph at the end, on the position of the AV. in the grammatical and kindred literature, is added to the original treatment of the subject. — <sup>2</sup> MADHUSŪDANASARASVATĪ (IS. I. 16); KĒŚAVA to Kauś. 1. 1; DLTA to Kā. 15. 7. 11, and elsewhere — J ALBERKAL, India (SACIAU's translation), vol. I, p. 129, reports that the AV. is less in favor with the Hindus than the other Vedas. According to BURNELL, Vaimābhrahmana of the RV, p. xxi, the most influential scholars of Southern India still deny the genuineness of the AV. — <sup>3</sup> RAJENDRA KAMITRA, in the introduction to GLI, p. 4. — <sup>4</sup> Cp., e. g. RV. I. 191; 7. 50, 7. 104, 10. 128; and see ALFREDCHÉ's edition of the RV, vol. II, p. 670 ff. — <sup>5</sup> See SBL. XII, p. xxx, note 3. — <sup>6</sup> See above, § 3; below, § 42. — <sup>7</sup> KNAUER, Festgruss an ROTH, p. 61 ff., and in opposition to our view, OLSENBERG, DJZ. March 13, 1897 (p. 366 ff.). On the metrical and linguistic criteria for the relative dates of RV. and AV. poetry see below, § 38, 42. — <sup>8</sup> The word *brahmi* which is catalogued with the *traya*, II. 8. 23; 15. 6. 3 (cp. also 15. 3. 7) does not refer to the AV., but is the broader and higher term for religion in general; cp. RV. 10. 71. 11, and see below, § 33. — <sup>9</sup> I. g., '1 dig (pms) that destroy the Rakṣas etc.' IS. 1. 3. 2. 1; MS. 1. 2. 10; VS. 5. 23; Shl. 3. 5. 4. 8. — <sup>10</sup> E. g. 1b. 6. 4. 9. 3; MS. 4. 6. 2; Shl. 4. 1. 5. 14. — <sup>11</sup> SBL. XII, p. xxxiv ff. — <sup>12</sup> Cp. above, p. 8. — <sup>13</sup> See JACOT's Concordance, s. v. *ṛgāṅgā, yamaya, rāḥ, jagurata, jagurmayā, jagur, āmarata, āmamaya, āman*. — <sup>14</sup> IS. I. 296; IX. 51. — <sup>15</sup> SBL. XII, p. xlii, note 2. — <sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 117 ff. — <sup>17</sup> OLDENBERG, SBL. XXX, p. 1 and xliii ff. — <sup>18</sup> AG. 3. 4. 4, 4G. 4. 10. 3; Śambavya Gṛhya, 15. XV. 153. Cp. 1b. XII. 441; WL. 2, p. 165. — <sup>19</sup> ROTH, AV. in Kāschmir, p. 28. — <sup>20</sup> For detailed statements see SBL. XII, p. xliii ff. — <sup>21</sup> This is the stereotyped summary of the functions of the AV., *śāntapustilbhavāṅgā*; see p. 8. — <sup>22</sup> Cp. BULLER, SBL. II, p. xxiv. — <sup>23</sup> SBL. XII, p. xxxv ff. — <sup>24</sup> SBL. XII, p. 111 ff.; Kauś. chapters 14 to 17. — <sup>25</sup> See A. HOLTZMANN, Das Mahābhārata, vol. IV, p. 5. — <sup>26</sup> SBL. XII, p. 111. — <sup>27</sup> Calcutta ed., *atharvairan*. — <sup>28</sup> Ibid. 111. — <sup>29</sup> Ibid. 111 ff. — <sup>30</sup> Ibid. 111. — <sup>31</sup> IS. V. 77. For Zanini's acquaintance with the so-called *hṛaya*, see below § 53. — <sup>32</sup> Cp. TS. 7. 5. 11. 2. — Kāliakāśaśamedhagrantha, and the superscription of the Ath. Traiśūdyā. — <sup>33</sup> IS. XIII. 431 ff.; XIV. 441; WL. 2, p. 165, note 3. — <sup>34</sup> See next chapter, § 33. — <sup>35</sup> Kauś. Introd. p. xxvii. — <sup>36</sup> IS. I. 43. 45; XIII. 144, 146, WL. 2, p. 90, 165. — <sup>37</sup> 1b. III. 277 ff. — <sup>38</sup> 1b. I. 297, bottom.

## G. THE ATHARVA-VEDA IN THE VIEW OF ITS RITUALISTIC LITERATURE.

§ 30. The attitude of the ritual texts towards the Atharvan and its priests. — From the preceding chapter we may gather that the Samhitā of the AV. and the Atharvan Upanisads allude with predilection and in terms of praise to their own kind of compositions, to the mythical sages who are their reputed authors, and to Atharvanic priests. Of any systematic attempt to make battle against the ancient threefold Veda or its adherents there is no sign. Similarly the ritual texts of the AV. allude preferably, and



yet incidentally, to their own Veda, and as occasion offers, bring to the front the priests schooled in it: e. g. Kauś. 63. 3; 139. 6; Vait. 1. 5; Ath. Pans. 46. 2, etc. But over and above this the ritual texts raise certain special claims regarding the position of the AV. among the Vedas, and they demand with obvious polemic intention that certain offices shall be reserved for Atharvan priests. The position of these texts may be stated under three heads. First, they are not content with the rather vacillating attitude of the non-Atharvanic texts which restrict the honorific mention of the fourth Veda to more or less well-defined occasions, especially to moods when it appears desirable to call into requisition the entire range of Vedic literary compositions in addition to the *trayī vidyā* (e. g. *īhāsa*, *purāṇa*, etc.). Secondly, the office of the Brahman, the fourth priest at the *śrauta* ceremonies, is said by them to belong to an Atharvavedin, and Vait. and GB. in fact exhibit the *bhṛgvaṅgīrovid* in possession of that office. Thirdly, a similar claim is advanced in respect to the office of the Purohita; the king must choose an Atharvan priest conversant with the Atharvan writings as his chaplain or house-priest: *purohita*, *guru*, or *brahman*, as he is variously called. The latter claim is supported, as has been shown, to some extent by later Brahmanical treatises not derived from Atharvan schools<sup>4</sup>.

§ 31. Exaltation of the Atharvan, and the office of the Brahman in the ritual texts. — As regards the first point, the GB. 1. 1. 4—10 describes the cosmogonic origin of the universe and the Vedas from the lone *brahma*. Vedic texts in general ignore the AV. in these creative fancies, but in the GB. the Atharvan and Angiras texts are placed at the head: the other Vedic texts (1. 1. 6) as well as the subsidiary compositions (*sarparāda* etc., 1. 1. 10) are relegated to the rear. GB. 1. 3. 4 lauds the AV. as the most important religious manifestation (*etat vai bhuyistham brahma yad bhṛg-angirasah*); GB. 1. 5. 25 ends with the assertion that the students of the *trayī* reach, to be sure, the highest heaven, but that the Atharvans and Angiras go even beyond to the great world of Brahma (*ata uktare brahmaloka mahantah*). In fact the leading theme at the heart of the composers of the GB. is to carry to the front the AV. and its adherents<sup>5</sup>, and only rarely, as if by mistake, does this text omit the AV. from its Vedic lists (above, § 22). And in the same way Vait. 6. 1 places the AV. at the head of the four Vedas, not to speak of the even more energetic exaltation of the Atharvan in the *Parīṣiṣṭas*. As regards, secondly, the Brahman, the overseer of the *śrauta*-sacrifices, Vait. 1. 1; 11. 2 (GB. 1. 2. 16) state that he must be conversant with the Brahma-Veda, or Atharvāṅgirasah, in the latter passage in expressed contrast with *uḡṣṭar*, *hotar*, and *adhvaryu* of the *trayī*. At GB. 1. 2. 18 (end) the Brahman is described with the words, *eva ha vai vidvan sarvāṇāṁ brahmā yad bhṛgvaṅgīrovid*, indicating the identification of the AV. with the *sarva-vidyā* which stands above the *trayī* (below, § 33), GB. 1. 3. 1, 2 describes vividly the futility of the sacrifice without a Brahman skilled in the *bhṛgvaṅgirasah*; as a cow, horse, mule, or chariot cannot proceed with less than four feet, so the sacrifice must have four feet — the four Vedas and the four priests. Cp. especially GB. 2. 2. 13 with its source, TS. 3. 5. 2. 1, where the GB. demurs at the statement of the TS., *tasmād vāsīṣṭho brahmā kuryah*, the GB. being committed emphatically to the *bhṛgvaṅgīrovid*.

§ 32. The office of the Purohita in the ritual texts. — Even more energetic are the demands of the liturgic texts in the matter of the office of the *purohita* (*brahman*, *guru*): 'The king who rules the country shall seek a wise Brahman (*brahmāṇam*). He verily is wise that is skilled in the *bhṛgu* and *angiras*; for the *bhṛgu* and *angiras* act as a charm against all ominous

occurrences, and protect everything' (Kaus. 91. 2-4; cp. 126. 2). The equivalence of *brahman*, *purohita*, and *guru* is guaranteed by comparing Ath. Pariś. 3. 1, *kulanam śrotṛiyam bhṛgtargirozidam ... gurum vṛṇīyad bhūpatiḥ*; and 3. 3, *tasmād bhṛgtargirozidam ... kuryāt purohitam*. Cp. also 2. 2, *brahmā tasmād athartatīti*. Conversely, 'The gods, the Fathers, and the twice-born (priests) do not receive the oblation of the king in whose house there is no *guru* skilled in the Atharvan' (2. 3)<sup>4</sup>. Kaus. 17. 14ff.; 140. 4ff. exhibit king and Purohita in active cooperation. The Pariśiṣṭas are not content with such strong recommendations of the adherents of their Veda; they would have the adherents of the other Vedas, yea even of certain branches (*śākhā*) of the AV. itself, excluded from the *purohiti*: 'The Atharvan keeps off terrible occurrences, and acts as a charm against portentous ones ... not the Adhvaryu, not the Chandoga, and not the Bahyṛca ... 'The Bahyṛca destroys the kingdom, the Adhvaryu destroys sons, the Chandoga dissipates wealth; hence the *guru* must be an Atharvan ... A Paippalāda as *guru* increases happiness, sovereignty, health, and so does a Saunakin who understands the gods and the mantras ... The king whose *purodhā* is in any way a Jalada or a Mauda is deposed from his kingdom within the year, (Ath. Pariś. 2. 2-5)<sup>5</sup>. The last four names are alike representatives of Atharvan schools (above, p. 11 ff.): the passage shows how eager was the scramble for the office of Purohita. That the Atharvans finally succeeded in making heard their clamorous demand for this office (see below, § 34), is probably due to their superior, if not exclusive, knowledge of witchcraft, which was doubtless regarded in the long run as the most practical and trenchant instrument for the defence of king and people.

§ 33. Causes leading up to the exaltation of the Atharvan and its priests — In order to estimate these claims of the Atharvanists at their correct value the following needs to be considered. In the Vedic religion, or perhaps better religious evolution, three literary forms and correspondingly three liturgic methods of application of these forms to the sacrifice, were evolved at a time prior to the recorded history of Hindu religious thought and action. They are the well-known types *ṛcāh*, *sāmāni*, and *jajūṃṣi*; and their priestly exponents, *hotar*, *udgatar*, and *adhvaryu*. These literary forms taken individually are mere fragments of religious activity; these priests are only individual actors, not qualified each by himself to shoulder the burden of the literary knowledge or liturgic technique. The Hindus were at all times aware that these religious forms are fragmentary and phases of a whole. The RV. contains countless expressions indicating the insufficiency of the *ṛcāh* to fulfill alone the scheme of religious action: the absence of *sāmāni* would in principle leave Vedic religion just as much mutilated as the absence of *ṛcāh*; the categories are the three parts of a trio whose melody is carried by each in turn. A comprehensive vision was never wanting, though the search for a word for 'religion', or religious practice as a whole was at first not very successful. The Brāhmaṇa-texts<sup>6</sup> use *sarvavidyā* for knowledge of all the Vedas, but the most successful attempt at describing the religious literature and action as a whole is the word *brāhma*, and, correspondingly, he that knows the religion as a whole is a *brahmān*. Each of these words appears occasionally in the fourth place, *brāhma* after the *trayī*; *brahmān* in company with the priests of the *trayī*. Thus the TS. (7. 3. 1. 4) can say: *parimitā rā ṛcāh, parimitāni sāmāni, parimitāni jajūṃṣi; athāi 'taṣṣai 'rā 'nto na 'sti yad brahma*. In a sense the *brāhma* is a fourth Veda, but it is not coordinate with the other three: it embraces and comprehends them and much else besides; it is the religious expression and religious action as a whole, and the learned esoteric understanding of the nature of the gods and the mystery of the

sacrifice as a whole (*brahma* in *brahmodya* and *brahmadādin*). In the Upaniṣads this *brahma*, frequently contrasted with the ordinary Vedas, is extolled above all other knowledge, and in a way personified, becoming one of the main conceptions which finally precipitate themselves in the pantheistic Brahman-Ītman. The knowledge of this *brahma* there constitutes the «*brahma-vidyā*». Needless to say this fourth Veda, if we may so call it, in all its aspects has primarily no connection with the AV., not even in the Samhitā (11.8.23; 15.3.7; 6.3; cp. AB 1.22.15), nor in the Upaniṣads of that Veda (e. g. Nrsīṅhapūrvatāpini 5.2): the claim that the Atharvan is the Brahma-Veda belongs to the Atharvan ritual.

This broader religious knowledge exists again from earliest times, not only in the abstract, but centres in persons who grasped it as a whole, in distinction from the technically qualified priests devoted to some specialty. What the *brāhma* is to the *trayī*, that the *brahmān* is to *hotar*, *udgatar*, and *adhvaryu*. RV. 10. 71. 11 depicts the activity of the four priests, the first three handling their respective literary productions (*ṛcāḥ* etc.). The fourth priest is described in the words, *brahmā vadati jatatiḥām*<sup>8</sup>: he has no special Veda, certainly there is no allusion to the AV. In RV. 7. 7. 5 the god Agni appears chosen as a Brahman at a sacrifice which suggests the later *sattra* (*agnir brahmā nṛpādane vidhartā*). In the expression, *brahmā vadati jatatiḥām*, the 'own wisdom' is the *brāhma* (neuter), and *vadati jatatiḥām* foreshadows the *brahmodya* 'the holy, or theological mystery, or riddle', as well as the ritualist refinements which the Śrauta-texts introduce so often with the related expression, *brahmatādino vadanti*. In the non-Atharvanic Vedic texts it is never suggested that the Atharvan is of all other things the specific equipment which shapes the faculties of this all-around Vedic theologian. On the contrary the KB. raises the one-sided claim that a RV. scholar is the proper Brahman; Āpastamba, Yajñaparibhāṣasūtra 19, more liberally, permits the Brahman to perform with all three Vedas, yet even he ignores the AV.<sup>9</sup> Vasiṣṭha was a celebrated Brahman and Purohita, and these qualifications were said for a time (probably by the descendants of Vasiṣṭha themselves) to be hereditary in this family. But the Brāhmaṇas say explicitly that this is an obsolete custom, every one properly equipped may be a Brahman<sup>10</sup>. Anyhow there is no original connection between Vasiṣṭha and the AV<sup>11</sup>, and it is not going too far to assume that the distinguished abilities demanded by the theory of this office were rare enough to admit everyone that had intrinsically valid claims upon it.

Doubtless the Atharvanists, plea that the Brahman must be one of themselves, and that, consequently, the AV. was the Brahma-Veda was suggested by an obvious schematic proportion. As the Hotar, etc., is to the RV., etc., so the Brahman is to the fourth Veda, and as the AV. is the fourth Veda, or rather a fourth Veda, it required no too violent wrench to identify it with that other comprehensive fourth Veda, the knowledge of the *brāhma*. Thus the Atharvan became the Brahma-Veda, and GB. 1.2.18, end, can say *eva ha vai tūhān saratvid brahmā yad bhr̥gvaṅgīroṣud* (cp. 1.5.11, 15, 19, always with the idea of the *saritam*). The fact that there was no systematic, sharply defined place for the Atharvanist in the scheme of the hieratic (*śrauta*) religion — witchcraft formulas at the sacrifice being handled as *yajus* by the Adhvaryu — must have been galling in the long run, until this arrangement was completed to their own satisfaction. They may have, though we do not know that they did, gathered courage for this *tour de force* from the frequent mention in the AV. itself of the word *brāhma* in the sense of charm, prayer, e. g. 1. 10. 1; 14. 44; 23. 4, etc. If this was done it was a proceeding both

arbitrary and superficial: the word has in the AV. the meaning of charm only in so far as the hymns of that Veda happen to be charms; the RV. employs the term freely to designate its own *sūktāni* (e. g. 5. 85. 1; 7. 28. 1). One misses, too, in the AV. the plural *brahmāṇi* as the true Vedic type of designation for a special class of compositions, on a level with *ṛcāḥ*, *sāmāni*, *yajūṃṣi*, *atharvāṅgirasah*, or, *atharvāṇah* (*bhṛajāni*), and *āṅgirasah* (*ābhicārī-lāni*). The Atharvanists doubtless also remembered that the AV. of all Samhitās contains the largest collection of theosophic hymns which deal explicitly (10. 2), or implicitly (10. 7), with the divine Brahman and the *brahmāṇi*<sup>12</sup>; hence, to some extent at least, the later association of the superabundant Upaniṣads with Atharvan schools. In the Upaniṣads, as we have seen, the knowledge of just such theosophic relations is styled *brahmatīdā*.

§ 34. Connection of the Purohita with the AV., and interrelation of Purohita and Brahman. — To these Atharvanic pretensions there came from another quarter a measure of substantiality, probably at a comparatively early time, in this instance with the passive support of all Vedic schools. The matter concerns the office of the Purohita, the spiritual and temporal aid of the king, his chaplain and chancellor. To be sure the non-Atharvanic Samhitās, Brāhmanas, and Sūtras do not mention the AV. in this connection any more than in connection with the office of the Brahman at the *śrauta*-sacrifice. Yet it seems very unlikely that the knowledge of Atharvan practices should not at all times have been considered a very valuable adjunct, if not a *conditio sine quā non*, of the *purohiti*. Purohitas, whether they are formal adherents of the AV. or not, are always engaging in Atharvanic practices, even against one another<sup>13</sup>. The interests of the king and his sovereignty (*kṣatriya* and *kṣatram*) are too obviously dependent upon magic rites to admit the likelihood that the pretensions to this office on the part of him that knew them should have been ignored. At all periods the safety of the king, the prosperity of his people, his ascendancy over hostile neighbors, must have depended upon his Purohita's skill in magic. The description, AB 8. 24—28, of the Purohita, his functions, and his relation to the king, transfers the ruler to the sphere and spirit of the AV.; the same text (8. 25) describes a magic rite, called *brahmaṇah parimāra*, designed to kill hostile kings, which might be an extract from the ritual of the Atharvan<sup>14</sup>. In later texts (GDh. 11. 15, 17; Yājñav. 1. 312; cp. also Manu 11. 33), as a matter of fact the rule is laid down formally that the Purohita should be an Atharvavedin. SĀYANA, Introd. to AV., p. 5, 6, makes the same claim outright (*paurohityam eā 'tharavidai 'va kārṇam*); he is able to cite in support not only the rather hysterical dicta of the Atharvan writings themselves, but also ślokas from the Purāṇas, the Nītiśāstra, etc.<sup>15</sup>. In the Daśakumāracarita the marriage ceremony, as well as magic rites, are in fact performed at the court of a king with Atharvan rites, *atharvapeṇa* (*ātharvanikena*) *vidhinā*: the statement is the more valuable as it is incidental<sup>16</sup>.

Not quite so well-defined are the practical realities in favor of the claim that the Brahman (fourth priest) must be an Atharvavedin, but we may assume that the growing affinity between the AV. and the *purohiti* contributed at least something to the partial success which doubtless attended that claim. It is not necessary for the purpose in hand to establish at all points the original relation between the Purohita and the Brahman whose identity is baldly assumed in many passages of the earlier Hindu literature<sup>17</sup>. A complete survey of the character of each, as well as their respective names establishes *a fortiori* genuine differences in their character. There is, however, one striking point of similarity between them, namely this, that they

have in charge, each in his own way, the general interests of their noble employers. On the other hand all priests having other names, at a very early period, certainly at a period prior to the Atharvanic assumption, had in ordinary practice only subordinate charges, because of the technical character of their knowledge and occupation. RV. 10. 71. 11 (cp. 7. 7. 5) expresses clearly the existence of broader theological interests than mere expertness in the recitation and chanting of hymns, and the mechanical service of the sacrifice (*hotar*, *udgitar* and *adhvaryu*). This is the Brahmanship which later forks into two directions, on one side the general knowledge of the procedures at the sacrifice (the Brahman as fourth priest), and the theological speculations attaching (*brahmarādin*); on the other, the higher theosophy which ultimately leads to the *brahmanvidyā* of the Upaniads. It is natural that a divine thus qualified should at a very early time have assumed permanent and confidential relations to his noble *rajan*-employer, in all matters that concerned his religious and sacrificial interests. His functions are those of a high-priest. It seems unlikely that this Brahman was in all cases, too, competent to attend to those more secular and practical needs of the king connected with the security of his kingdom, the fealty of his people, and the suppression of his enemies. These activities, *rajakarmāni*, as the Atharvan writings call them<sup>11</sup>, must have called for different training and different talents — they represent rather the functions of a chancellor and fighting chaplain, than those of a high-priest — and there is no reason to believe that every Brahman possessed these necessary qualifications in addition to his expertness in systematic theology. On the other hand, conversely, there must have been Purohitas incapable of assuming intelligent charge of the more elaborate Vedic performances (*śrauta*), unless we conceive that in such cases the Brahman was a mere figure-head and his office a sinecure. Yet precisely here is to be found the measure of truth which we may suspect in the Atharvanist claim that the supervising Brahman shall be an adherent of the AV. In many cases the tribal king, or *raja*, might have had but one body-priest, well capable of attending to the kingdom's needs in all manner of charms and sorcery, and thus filling the *purohita* creditably with the entire armament of the Veda of charms and sorcery, himself an Atharvavedin. If the king had about him no systematic theologian resplendent in his *jāta-vidyā*, if there was no adept in that ideal fourth Veda, the *sarvanvidyā* that looms above the *trayī-vidyā*, the remoter applicability of the *śrauta*-practices to real life, or confidence in the ability of *hotar*, *adhvaryu*, etc., to perform their duties correctly of themselves, would lead him to entrust the general supervision of the *śrauta* performances to his trusty Atharvan Purohita. Thus the sweeping claim of the Atharvan priests may be founded at least upon a narrow margin of fact, later the Atharvan priests are likely to have equipped themselves with enough external and mechanical knowledge to perform the function of Brahman with a show of respectability, witness the activity of the Brahman in the Vait. In very late times the ability of the Atharvans to practise *śrauta*-rites, and the canonicity of the Vait. were recognized by other Vedic schools, if the matter-of-fact references to that Sūtra on the part of the commentators to KS. be regarded as normal<sup>12</sup>. However the entire question of the relation of the AV. to *śrauta*-practices is a rather obscure point in the history of Vedic literature, it being assumed generally that the AV. had originally nothing to do with the larger Vedic ritual. The assumption in this broad form is at any rate too sweeping. The existing Samhitās of the AV. contain mantras which could have had no sense and purpose except in connection with *śrauta*-performances. A series of formulas, e. g. like AV.

6. 47 and 48, has no meaning except in connection with the three daily *savanas*: Vait. 21. 7 exhibits them, properly no doubt, as part of the *agni-ṣṭoma*. Or AV. 6. 114 is evidently an expiatory formula for faults committed at the sacrifice<sup>20</sup>. This last is the special sphere of the Brahman. The GB., more frequently than other Brāhmanas, refers to defects in the sacrifice (*śiriṣṭa*, *ūna*, *jāṭayāma*) which are to be corrected (*samdhāna*) by mantras (1. 1. 13 and 22), and there are mss. of the Vait. which add six *prāyascitta*-chapters to the body of that text<sup>21</sup>. Some knowledge of *śrauta*-matters, though not very extensive perhaps, the Atharvans must have had at a very early time, and thus the germs of the correlation of the Atharvan and Brahman may even rest upon some slender basis of very ancient tradition.

<sup>1</sup> Abstract of the essay on this subject, SBE. XLII, p. LVII ff. — <sup>2</sup> Cp. above, § 26, and below, § 34. — <sup>3</sup> See below § 66, and note especially GB. 2. 2. 14, where the *atharvāṅgīrasak* are added every time in liturgical formulas to the *ṛcāḥ*, *yajūṣi*, and *sāmāni* — <sup>4</sup> Cp. WEBER, *Omina und Portenta*, p. 346 ff.; IS, N. 138; SAUNAKA, *Introd.* to the AV., p. 6 — <sup>5</sup> WFEER, IS. I. 296; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. XI. 378, note. — <sup>6</sup> TB. 3. 10. 11. 4; TA. 10. 47; cp. SB. 14. 6. 7. 18; 9. 4. 17. — <sup>7</sup> SBE. XLII, p. XLII — <sup>8</sup> Cp. *ibid.* p. LIV, note 1. — <sup>9</sup> The commentary admits that the AV. may be included MHASL., p. 470; ZDMG. IX, p. XLVII; SBE. XXX, p. 321; cp. *ibid.* XLII, p. LXV, note 2. — <sup>10</sup> WEBER, IS. X. 34, 35, 137 — <sup>11</sup> SBE. XLII, p. LV, note 1; LXV, note 3. Cp. also ROTII, *Abhandlung*, p. 9; MEUR, *OST.* I. 395 — <sup>12</sup> Cp. the mantra, GB. 1. 1. 9; ŚĪVĀṆA, *Introd.* to AV., p. 4; Viṣṇu Purāṇa 6. 5 (WILSON's translation, vol. V, p. 210). — <sup>13</sup> MHASL., p. 486. — <sup>14</sup> Cp. AV. 3. 19; Kauś. 14. 22–23; RV. 4. 50. 7–9. — <sup>15</sup> Cp. DEVA at KŚ. 15. 7. 11. — <sup>16</sup> See above, § 28; SBE. XLII, p. LXVIII. — <sup>17</sup> E. g. RV. 4. 50. 7 ff., where the Purohita is called *Brhaspati*, i. e. the divine *brahmān*. For the literature on the subject see SBE. XLII, p. LXVIII, note 3. — <sup>18</sup> See below § 55. — <sup>19</sup> GARBE in the preface to the edition of Vait., p. VI. — <sup>20</sup> See the analysis of these two classes of hymns, below, § 58 and 60 — <sup>21</sup> See GARBE, *ibid.* p. v; WEBER, *Verz.* II, p. 83, Kauś. *Introd.* p. XXXIII.

## PART II. THE REDACTION AND EXTERNAL FORM OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA IN THE SCHOOL OF ŚAUNAKA.

### A. DIVISION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE HYMNS.

§ 35. The division of the *Samhitā* into 20 books. — The AV. in the *Saunakiya-sākhā* is divided into 20 books, a number which is upheld to some extent by tradition. Thus GB. 1. 1. 5 and 8 speaks of 20 mythical sages descended from Atharvan and Angiras, and Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* to Pāṇ. 5. 2. 37, cites the example, *vimśino 'ṅgīrasak*<sup>1</sup>. General statements of this sort cannot, however, be regarded as conclusive for the original number of the *Saunakiya*-books, because AVP. also has 20 books whose genuineness is unimpeachable<sup>2</sup>. Indeed it would seem as though the original collection of the *Saunakins* consisted of a lesser number of books, and that it was later swelled by the addition of a number of books sufficient to bring it into accord with the traditional number, that is, to assimilate it to AVP., or to some other redaction in 20 books. There is no doubt that the 20<sup>th</sup> book is a late addition compiled for the most part from the RV. for ritualistic purposes of an advanced character (see below, § 62). The concluding prayer at the end of book 19 (hymn 72) shows in fact that the collection was at some time conceived as having come to a full stop with book 19. But the latter book is hardly less doubtfully a secondary appendage, for the following reasons: It is exceedingly corrupt; it does not harmonize with the plan of arrangement of the hymns in the first 18 books, which, in spite of certain

obscurities, or even puerilities, is on the whole a consistent one<sup>3</sup>, AVP. contains the 72 hymns of book 19 (with the exception of about a dozen) scattered throughout that collection, making it seem probable that the supplementary book 19 of the vulgata is in the main gathered from that very source<sup>4</sup>; AV. 19. 7 and 8 are repeated in full in Nakṣatrakalpa 10 and 26, which would seem to show that at the time of the composition of that text these hymns did not belong to the vulgata, as in the contrary case they would have been quoted by their *pratikas*<sup>5</sup>, AV. 19. 22 and 23, a fanciful catalogue, or table of contents, of the Saṃhitā, are of obvious *Parīṣṭa*-character<sup>6</sup>, and certainly do not refer to book 19<sup>7</sup>, although they seem to refer continuously (19. 23. 23—28) to books 13—18; the Kauṣ., by quoting only a few mantras of book 19 by *pratika*, and presenting others in full (*sakalapatha*), seems to assign to it something like an intermediate position between a collection fully established within the Saṃhitā of its school, and a body of mantras conceived as belonging to another school<sup>8</sup>; finally both books 19 and 20 are not treated in the *Prāṭisākhya* of the AV., or included in the analysis of the Saṃhitā as given by the *Pañcapāṇikā*<sup>9</sup>, a fact which is perhaps self-explanatory as regards book 20, but which stamps book 19 as a stranger at the time of the composition of the *Prāṭisākhya*. Remarkable but not finally significant is the reference of the *Uttamapaṭala*, Ath. Parīṣ. 46. 4—6, to the constituency of the AV. According to this text the Śūnakīya ended with book 16, unless it were assumed that reference is made in it to another *śakha*<sup>10</sup>. Inasmuch however as this tract indulges in oddities in connection with the remaining Vedic Saṃhitās, and because its account has in view specific ritualistic purposes, it is not necessary to assume that books 17 and 18 were added after the composition of this *Parīṣṭa*, or are in any sense the product of a later redaction than that of books 1—16. Book 18, to be sure, is wanting in AVP., book 17, however, is for the most part included in it<sup>11</sup>.

The AV. is divided into *kanda* 'books', *anuvāka* 'lessons', and *sūkta* 'hymns'. Another continuous division into *prapāṭhaka* extends in Rort and Whitney's edition through the first 18 books (38 in all), but does not continue through books 19 and 20. In addition to *sūkta* there is also a parallel division of each *kanda* in *orthasūkta* 'hymns divided off according to sense', and *paryāyasūkta*, briefer subdivisions into groups of verses, usually ten a group. The latter subdivision is to be compared with the Rgvedic *varga*, beside the *sūkta*. Beginning with book 7 ŚHANKAR PANDIT'S divisions in accordance with his authorities differ somewhat from those of the vulgate edition<sup>12</sup>. In Śāyana's commentary the briefer hymns are combined into larger hymns in accordance with the traditional recitation, e.g. in the case of book 6 two hymns (*vāca*) are fused into one<sup>13</sup>. The Kauṣ. is acquainted with the terms *adhyāya* (= *kanda*), *anuvāka*, *sūkta* and *paryāya*<sup>14</sup>. SB. 13. 4. 3. 7, 8 mentions the term *partan* in connection with the recital of sections from the *atharvānuk* on the one hand and the *argiśānuk* on the other, the statement is on the face of it exoteric and fanciful, similar to the loose use of *partan* in RV. 7. 103. 5; PG. 2. 10. 20<sup>15</sup>. The entire collection as printed in the vulgate numbers 731 hymns, aggregating about 6000 stanzas.

§ 36. Arrangement of the books according to hymns of different length. — Leaving aside book 20 whose arrangement like that of the *śrauta*-collections of the Yajus saṃhitās is liturgical, and the supplementary book 19 whose arrangement is apparently hap-hazard, and at any rate not to be discussed without reference to AVP., the first 18 books disclose the following redactorial scheme<sup>16</sup>. The first seven books consist each of numerous hymns (respectively 35, 36, 31, 40, 31, 142, and 118) of not very

many stanzas each, 18 at the utmost (5. 17). The hymns of each book are regulated by a lower limit in the number of their stanzas. First, ascendingly, the hymns of books 1—5, each containing about the same number of hymns, have respectively at least 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 stanzas; this ascending scale seems to be repeated in a way inside of book 5, the norm of whose first two anuvākas (hymns 1—10) seems to be 8 or 9 stanzas followed in the rest of the book by hymns consisting at least of 11, and rising as high as 18 stanzas (hymn 17). After book 5 there is an obvious break in the arrangement: the number of hymns increases vastly but the scale of stanzas descends; book 6 contains 142 hymns of at least 3 stanzas each; book 7 contains 118 hymns of two, or even as low as one stanza each. The lower limit of stanzas in the hymns of each book may therefore be regarded in a certain sense as the normal number of stanzas of that book<sup>17</sup>, suggesting critical operations in connection with those hymns that have more than the normal number. In such cases the question arises whether stanzas were not added by a later hand. It is also possible to surmise that certain hymns which originally fell short of the normal number of a given book were brought up to the norm by later additions. Systematic investigations of this sort have been carried on by BERGAIGNE and OLDENBERG on the RV. with interesting side-glances at the AV<sup>18</sup>. Thus the normal number of stanzas in the first book is 4, interrupted only by hymns 3 (9 stanzas), 7 (7 stanzas), 11 (6 stanzas), 29 (6 stanzas), and 34 (5 stanzas). Hymn 3 suggests the throwing out of the liturgically repeated stanzas 2—5, leaving 5 stanzas, but there is no reason further to suspect any of the remaining. In hymn 7 the first four stanzas are anuṣṭubh, interrupted by a triṣṭubh (stanza 5); it is therefore possible to imagine that the stanzas 5—7 were added later. Yet these stanzas are original, and there is no reason to suspect them on intrinsic grounds. In hymn 11 of 6 stanzas the last two may be suspected because they repeat the pāda, *ata jarayu padyatām*, as a refrain. Hymn 29 suggests by comparison with RV. 10. 174 a critical manipulation which shall do justice to the original diaskeuastic intention of both collections. By cutting out AV. 29. 4 and 5 we have left 4 stanzas = RV 10. 174. 1—3 and 5, and if we assume that RV. 10. 174. 4 = 10. 159. 4 is also secondary we obtain the original 4 stanzas of the hymn in both RV. and AV<sup>19</sup>. Finally AV. 1. 34 has 5 stanzas, of which the last may possibly be later, since its second hemistich is formulaic; then the first 4 stanzas might be looked upon as a debating charm, turned into a love charm by the appendage of stanza 5<sup>20</sup>. Conversely it is no less easy to breed in one's mind distrust of certain final stanzas of the hymns of four stanzas as indeed of the final stanzas of many Vedic hymns in general. This is so not only because additions are naturally made at the end, but also because final stanzas frequently disclose the true point of a hymn to which the initial stanzas, themselves of a preparatory, or ornamental character, as it were, work their way. E. g. in RV. 7. 103, a prayer to the frogs for rain, or AV. 4. 16, an imprecation against an enemy, or AV. 3. 13, a charm to conduct a river into a new channel, the initial stanzas work their way to the climax (or rather anti-climax) in the last stanza of each hymn<sup>21</sup>. Therefore there is quite frequently a break in the sense just before the last stanza. Thus, unless we be warned by these considerations, AV. 1. 2 may be plausibly regarded as a battle-charm consisting of the first 3 stanzas, but adapted later to a charm against diarrhoea by the added fourth verse<sup>22</sup>. Next AV. 1. 5 and 6 contain 4 stanzas each, together 8 stanzas; the corresponding hymn, RV. 10. 9, consists of 9 stanzas. Seven stanzas are common to both texts. Now the scheme of the RV. favors 7 stanzas for 10 9: shall



we say that RV. 10. 9. 8 and 9, as well as AV. 1. 6. 4 are later appendages, and that the last-mentioned stanza was added in the AV. to bring the hymn 1. 6 up to the normal number of 4 stanzas? The same question may be asked anent AV. 1. 17. 4 which looks a bit patchy (pāda c=RV. 1. 19r. 6<sup>e</sup>), and differs in metre from the rest. Certainly according to the ritual stanza 4 is important, and contains the very point of the practices connected with the hymn. Then what is the meaning of the diaskuastic manoeuvre in AV. 1. 29 and 21? The two hymns are patchwork: stanza 20. 1 = TB. 3. 7. 5. 12 (ApS. 2. 20. 6); stanza 20. 2 occurs with variants AS. 5. 3. 22; the next, stanza 20. 3, seems original. From that point on the two hymns (20. 4—21. 4) are the same as RV. 10. 152, in 5 stanzas. Shall we say that a single hymn of 5 stanzas was inflated by the Atharvanist into two hymns of 4 stanzas each, in order to fit it to the external scheme of his arrangement? This would accord in principle with the previous critical acts. Once again, 5 stanzas of the two hymns 1. 23 and 24, dealing with the same subject (leprosy), are repeated TB. 2. 4. 4. 1—2. Has the AV. taken once more a hymn of 5 stanzas, and swelled it out to two of 4 stanzas each, in order to pamper its scheme? The danger and difficulty of such operations may be seen best in hymn 1. 4 = RV. 1. 23. 16—19. According to OIDENBERG, l. c., p. 225, RV. 1. 23 consists of 6 tīcas (stanzas 1—18) which form a ritual series, stanzas 19—24 being an appendix. Now, unless the AV. borrowed its four stanzas (= RV. 16—19) directly from the redactorially finished RV. — a very unlikely assumption — these criteria lose something of their force as applied to the RV. itself; if their stringency in the RV. is not above suspicion, little confidence can be placed in similar operations in the AV., because they are in general dependant upon Rīgvedic data. Without going so far as to say that the verse-norms of the Atharvamic books should be ignored in judging the historical make-up of the hymns, extreme scepticism is for the present the proper frame of mind. I say, for the present, because the prospect of having the other Atharvan Saṃhitā, the Paippalāda, in our hands soon is now very good: certainly even the most enthusiastic believer in these studies will be in favor of deferring them until the Śaunakiya's sister-saṃhitā discloses its treasure of facts. Hence similar observations for the remaining books will not be here undertaken: they would indeed require the freedom and space of an independent essay<sup>23</sup>. We must not, however, fail to draw attention to the fact that the ritual of the Atharvan, as that of the RV, generally recognizes hymns that are clearly composite by employing each part independently with a true sense of its proper value. HITEERANDI has discussed and illustrated this point for the RV.<sup>24</sup>, the present writer for the AV.<sup>25</sup> Composite hymns of this sort are 4. 28 in two parts, 7. 56 in two parts, stanzas 5 ft. wanting in AVP, and rubricated separately KAUS. 139. 8, the two hymns 7. 74 and 7. 76 are tripartite and consist of heterogeneous stanzas which are employed properly in the Sūtra<sup>26</sup>; finally the checkered *kuntaka*-hymns are divided properly in the ritual tradition of all schools that take occasion to introduce them (see below, § 63).

We have seen that the first seven books are arranged on the basis of the number of stanzas in the hymns; the numbers ascend from book 1—5, descend from book 6—7. Books 8—18, with the exception of 15 and 16, consist of long hymns; the shortest hymn (8. 1) in these is longer than the longest in the first seven books (hymn 5. 17 of 18 stanzas). We may note also that the shortest hymn, again barring books 15 and 16, stands at the beginning of the entire series; the longest at the end (hymn 18. 4 with 89 stanzas). Further, books 8—11 consist of 10 hymns each; after that the numbers

descend in book 12 (5 hymns), 13 (4 hymns), 14 (2 hymns), and 17 (one hymn); cf. the arrangement according to anuvākas, below. Again, book 8 has the shortest hymns with an average of 25.8 stanzas to a hymn; next, book 9 with an average of 30.5 stanzas to a hymn; next, book 10 with an average of 35 stanzas to a hymn. But book 11 interrupts this ascending scale with an average of 31.3 stanzas to a hymn, and after that this criterion, if it be more than an accident, is no longer applicable. Instead, another element of division rules the arrangement of the books, namely the division into anuvākas: the books are arranged from 8—17 according to the number of anuvākas in a descending scale. Books 8—13 have 5 anuvākas each; book 13 has 4; books 14—16 have two each; and book 17 has 1 anuvāka. Book 18, to be sure, again disturbs this descending scale with its 4 anuvākas. As far as books 13—18 are concerned, the prominence of the anuvāka-arrangement which plays no rôle in the first 7 books at all, is brought into view by the plural, duals, singular, and then again plural in the catalogue of these books, AV. 19. 23. 23—28: *rohatebhyah svāhā*, plural (book 13); *suryabhyam svāha*, dual (book 14); *vrātyābhyam svāhā*, dual (book 15); *prajāpatyabhyam svāha* (why this designation?), dual (book 16); *viśvāsahya svāha*, singular (book 17), and, *maṅgalikebhyah svāhā*, plural (book 18)<sup>27</sup>.

§ 37. Arrangement of the hymns within the books. — Within a given book the hymns are on the whole not arranged at all, but seem to follow one upon the other pell-mell, with little reference to their subject matter, or any other discernible criterion. The numerical scheme of each book, to begin with, prevents the grouping of all related hymns. Thus 7. 65 is too short to take its place by the side of the hymns to the *apamārga*-plant, 4. 17—19, the hymn 12. 5, on the other hand, is too long to figure by the side of 5. 17—19, though they are all curses against the oppressors of Brahmins. Similarly 5. 23 is prevented by its length from joining the charms against worms (2. 32, 33). Yet a considerable amount of the material is obviously arranged according to subject matter: two, three, four, and rising from that to as high as twelve hymns, dealing with quite or nearly the same theme, are grouped in the same place. The last mentioned number is the highest, being exhibited by 6. 110—121, all of which deal with expiation (*prajāpatya*) of sins<sup>28</sup>. The next largest number, seven, is represented by the so-called *nrgara*-hymns, 4. 23—29 (see §§ 45, 57), the group 2. 18—23 contains 6 imprecations against enemies. Book 3 begins with an anuvāka in 5 hymns connected with royal practices (1—5); in a certain sense the five hymns of entire anuvāka 4. 16—20, dealing with witchcraft, are made of the same stuff. Four groups of 4 hymns each are 7. 35—38 (women's charms), 7. 46—49 (divinities of the moon and heavenly wives); 19. 40—43 (*brahma*, *tapas*, *dikṣā*); and 19. 47—50 (Night). Very much more frequent are groups of three: 1. 4—6 (water-charms); 1. 19—21 (battle-charms); 1. 22—24 (skin-diseases); 2. 15—17 (prose-formulas to secure long life); 4. 17—19 (charms with the *apamārga*-plant), 5. 17—19 (against oppressors of Brahmins), 6. 22—24 (water); 6. 27—29 (ominous birds); 6. 34—36 (Agni hymns); 6. 39—41 (*haris* hymns: see § 60, end); 6. 65—67 (battle charms); 6. 86—88 (rulership); 6. 97—99 (battle-charms), 6. 130—132 (love-charms); 7. 14—16 (Savitar); 7. 17—19 (Dhātār); 7. 79—81 (lunar); 12. 3—5 (in the interest of Brahmins); 19. 9—11 (*śanta* and *śam*); 19. 14—16 (freedom from danger); 19. 17—19 (prose litanies for protection); and 19. 28—30 (amulet of *darbha*). And then there are in addition some sixty or more pairs of hymns more or less allied in subject-matter: in general their connection is too obvious to require special statement; at times it needs to be watched for rather closely, as, e. g. in the

case of 2. 1, 2 (Vena and Gandharva); 4. 1, 2 (*brahmin* and *la*); 7. 1, 2 (*manas* and *vāc*); 7. 8, 9 (journey and road); 6. 47, 48 (the three *sadvanas*); 7. 27, 28 and 98, 99 (ritualistic pairs); 7. 76 (end) and 77 (Indra and Maruts); 11. 7, 8 (both theosophic, sharing the padas: 7. 25<sup>ab</sup> = 8. 4<sup>ab</sup>, 26<sup>b</sup>, and 7. 26<sup>b</sup> = 8. 24<sup>b</sup>). Of special importance for the future first history of the *Saṃhitā* is the undoubted prehistoric and organic connection of some of the groups; they appear together many times not only because they deal with the same theme, but because a given group in an earlier period of mantra-production made up one and the same hymn, or two or more hymns bearing upon the same theme and the same occasion. Thus the *mṛgāra*-group (4. 23—29) is undoubtedly built up on a rather slender tradition of *yajus*-materials; the first and last stanzas are almost always directly derived from some *Yajus*-collection, the interior five stanzas are the original product of the Atharvanist's muse<sup>21</sup>. Of the group 2. 19—23 the first seems also originally *yajus*-matter (MS. 1. 5. 2; ApS. 6. 21. 1): out of these passages the entire litany is produced by a kind of Atharvanic inflation<sup>22</sup>. There is a similar historic and organic connection between the four hymns 7. 46—49; the three hymns 1. 4—6; 6. 27—29; 7. 39—41; and 7. 79—81; the two hymns 1. 20, 21; 24, 25; 2. 32, 33; 4. 31, 32; 6. 87, 88; 125, 126; 9. 9, 10; 19. 7, 8; 22, 23 and 60, 61. A more complete sifting of the mantras will disclose other groups of this kind, and on the other hand the record of some connections of this sort is sure to have perished (e. g. perhaps, in the case of 1. 7, 8; 6. 103, 104; 10. 7, 8; 11. 9, 10, etc.). Not infrequently the hymns are grouped for reasons that are far more superficial and hap-hazard than those just mentioned. The present writer drew attention to facts of this sort in connection with the first book, as did later HRAKṢI in connection with the seventh book<sup>23</sup>; they appear sporadically throughout the *Saṃhitā*. In the first place, just as the introductory hymn 1. 1 and the closing hymn of book 19 hold their places because of their subject-matter, so there is design in the opening-hymns of books 2, 4, 5, and 7, all of which begin with a theosophic or *brahmodya*-hymn in loftier diction. The grouping of 9. 5—7 seems to be due to the large patch of *brahmana* prose contained in them. Hymns 1. 2, 3 and 7. 6, 7 (*Aditi* and *Diti*) deal in each pair with opposite rather than same themes. Above all verbal correspondences, at times so vague as to cast doubt upon one or the other of the following observations seem to be the sole cause of the juxtaposition of hymns. Thus 1. 9, 10 are not connected by theme, but each contains the word *artana* in the opening hemistich. Hymns 11—13 are linked by subtle correspondences: hymn 11 is a charm for easy delivery in childbirth, ending with the refrain. *atā jarata paśyātam*, hymn 12 begins with the word *parajayāt*, its theme being the 'cloud-placenta born' lightning, then follows hymn 13 also addressed to lightning (root *stan* in 12. 1 and 13. 1)<sup>24</sup>. The word *stana* links externally 6. 134 and 135, the words *stana* and *stanayitnu* 7. 10 and 11, *atā mṛj* and *apa mṛj* 7. 64 and 65, *prajayantah* and *prajayati* 7. 74 and 75, *vrkka* and *vrkka* 7. 95 and 96, stem *ka*, felt to be the same as *prajāpati*, 7. 100 and 101, stem *rakṣan* 8. 2, 28 and 3. 1; stem *prāna* 11. 3. 54 ff and 11. 4, *sam* and *sam* (as occasionally in parallel versions of the same mantra) 19. 1, 2, *śānta* and *sam* 19. 9—11. The group 7. 88—90 seems to be linked by a cumulation of verbal correspondences: they begin respectively with the words *apsi*, *apsi*, and *apsi*, 88 and 89. 1 contain the root *pre*, and *sepe* in 89. 3 is perhaps correlated with *sepe* in 90. 3. In the group 7. 113—115 such an external correspondence can be made critically helpful. 7. 113 and 114. 1 obviously treat the same subject, whereas 114. 2 is foreign to their theme, and may have gotten this berth

because its words *prato yantu*, as well as its sense, concatenate plausibly with 7. 115. 1 which begins, *pra patetaḥ*; cp. below, § 40.

The Samhitā-text of the AV. in the Śaunakīya-school was published in 1855 by R. ROTH and W. D. WHITNEY under the title, *Atharva Veda Samhitā*: the edition is occasionally spoken of as the vulgate by the present and other writers. This was followed by a number of subsidiary publications by WHITNEY: an alphabetic list of *pratīkar*, or verse-beginnings, in IS. IV. 9 ff.; the edition of the Atharva-Veda-Prātiśakhya, or Śaunakīya Caturdhyaṅika in JAOS. VII. 333—615 (addenda, JAOS. X. 156 ff.), and an Index Verborum to the published text which at the same time reproduces the readings of the pīḍa-text (JAOS. XII). WHITNEY's posthumous work, containing other indexes, critical notes to the text, and a translation is now in the press of the Harvard Oriental Series (ed. C. R. LANMAN): see JAOS. XV. CLXVIII. Another edition of the same Veda in both *saṃhitā* and *pada*-form, with a fragmentary commentary ascribed to Śāyana, is partly published and wholly in the press, under the title *Atharvavedasamhitā* (Bombay 1895); it is from the pen of the late SHANKAR PANDURANG PANDIT. The value of the commentary is stated critically by WHITNEY, Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth, p. 59 ff. For the Kashmirian version of the AV., the so-called Paṃpallada Śākha (above p. 11), see ROTH, Der Atharva-Veda in Kaschmir (Lübingen 1875): it is now proposed by the present author to publish a photographic reproduction of the unique manuscript of that Veda; see the circular to that effect issued by the Johns Hopkins University in 1898, and JAOS. XX. 184 ff.

<sup>1</sup> WEBER, IS. XIII. 433, WL.<sup>2</sup>, p. 161, note. The statements of both GB. and Mahābhāṣya refer in this matter to an Atharvanic tradition broader than that of the Śaunakīya, since both texts present *śam no dāt* (1. 1. 6) as the initial stanza. This probably suits the AVI<sup>1</sup>, see Kausika, Introduction, p. XXXVII ff. — <sup>2</sup> The beginnings of the books of AVI<sup>1</sup> and their relation in general to the books of the Śaunakīya are stated above, p. 14, on the authority of ROTH, Der AV. in Kaschmir, p. 15 ff., 18 — <sup>3</sup> See below, §§ 36 and 37. — <sup>4</sup> ROTH, *ibid.* p. 18. AV. 19. 56—58 are directly designated as *paṃpalladamantrāḥ*, Ath. Paris. 8. 2: see above p. 12. — <sup>5</sup> WEBER, IS. IV. 433, note 2. — <sup>6</sup> They occur, in fact, in full text, at the end of the Uttama-pājala, Ath. Paris. 46, cp. WEBER, *ibid.* 433. — <sup>7</sup> The expression, *brahmaṇe n. āh*, which WEBER, *ibid.* 433, note 3, suspects as referring to book 19, is a mere general ending to both lists 19. 22. 20 and 23. 29: it invokes *brahma*, prayer, in general; cp. the metrical st. at the end of each chapter. — <sup>8</sup> See Kaus. Introd. p. XI, and cp. FISCHER, GGA, April 1891, p. 283. — <sup>9</sup> WHITNEY, JAOS. VII. 334. 581; SHANKAR PANDIT's edition, vol. I, Critical Notice, p. 24. — <sup>10</sup> WEBER, IS. IV. 432. — <sup>11</sup> ROTH, *ibid.* p. 18. — <sup>12</sup> SHANKAR PANDIT, *ibid.* p. 16 ff. — <sup>13</sup> *asmim kande prāyena sarvāṇi sūktāni trāṇmakīny eva tathāpi adhyāpakaśampadāyīnurodhena vṛatdayam cikīrtya sūktānena vyavahṛiyate* (ŚĀYANA, vol. II, p. 2). — <sup>14</sup> See Indexes, p. 382. The *prāyā* are also alluded to in the late Parisāḍya-hymn 19. 22. 7. The date of AV. 19. 22 and 23 can be fixed as later than the Kausika. In 22. 11—13 the formulas *upastambhāṇ svāhā*, *ut'ambhāṇ svāhā*, and *uttarebhāṇ svāhā* allude without doubt to the frequent citations in Kaus. of hymns and stanzas which have been previously stated in groups. See for *upastamba*, Kaus. 26. 34; for *uttama*, Kaus. 26. 40; 41. 15; 50. 14, for *utara*, Kaus. 48. 36. — <sup>15</sup> Differently WEBER, IS. I. 295; II. 396, IV. 434; V. 22, 77; SPAW. 1891, p. 770, note 1, WL.<sup>2</sup> 137, 165; cp. SBE. XLII. p. XXI. — <sup>16</sup> Cp. BERGAIGNE, Recherches sur l'histoire de la Samhitā du Rig-Veda, I, p. 4 and 75 (JA. 1886; WEBER, IS. XVII. 178; XVIII. 1, 154. — <sup>17</sup> The Anukramāṇi of the AV. designates this lower limit as the norm (*prakṛti*) of the books, the deviations as *vṛkṣṭi*; see WEBER, I. c. — <sup>18</sup> BERGAIGNE, I. c.; OLDENBERG, Die Hymnen des Rig-Veda, p. 243 ff. — <sup>19</sup> OLDENBERG, I. c. — <sup>20</sup> Cp. SBE. XLII. 274 ff. — <sup>21</sup> BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. XVII. 178; WEBER, IS. XVIII. 66; SBE. XLII. 348. — <sup>22</sup> Cp. SBE. XLII. 233 ff. — <sup>23</sup> As further specimens of hymns that invite such criticism we may mention 2. 3, 4 (last st.); 2. 10 (cp. TB. 2. 5. 6 1; HG. 2. 3. 10; ApMB. 2. 12 6); 2. 12 (last 3 st.); cp. SBE. XLII. 297; 2. 14 (st. 4; cp. *ibid.* 301); 3. 13, 19, 29 (last two st.); 3. 30 (the irregular st. 6 interrupts the concatenation of 5 and 7; but see SBE. XLII. 363); 4. 2 (last st.); 4. 16 (last two st.); 4. 17 (st. 5, rather extraneous — 7. 23); 5. 17 (BERGAIGNE, I. c. p. 22; OLDENBERG, I. c. p. 243). — <sup>24</sup> BB. VIII. 195 ff.; ZDMG. XL. 708 ff.; cp. WEBER, SPAW. 1891, p. 798. — <sup>25</sup> Kausika, Introduction, p. XII. — <sup>26</sup> SBE. XLII. 554, 557, 559. — <sup>27</sup> Cp. BERGAIGNE, I. c., p. 75, note. — <sup>28</sup> In a less specific way all the hymns 19. 26—39 deal with amulets of some sort, and therefore represent a still larger group of 14 hymns. — <sup>29</sup> See below, §§ 45 and 57. — <sup>30</sup> In accordance with notions very prominent in GB. The Rig-Vedic cosmic triad, Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, is there

swelled out to a tetrad by the addition of Candri and Āpahi (the moon with the waters) to provide for the AV., the other three being correlated with the members of the *trayī* *ṛṣyāḥ*; see § 45. — <sup>1</sup> Seven Hymns of the AV., *AJIt.* VII. 470ff.; *Le Livre VII de l'AV.*, p. IX. — <sup>2</sup> The first 13 hymns of book 1 seem to be arranged continuously in groups; after that the regularity of the scheme breaks down; cp. Seven Hymns, *ibid.*

## B THE METRES OF THE ATHARVAN AND THEIR RELATION TO THE CRITICAL RESTORATION OF THE TEXT.

§ 38. The metres, with special reference to the Atharvanic (popular) anuṣṭubh — The metres of the original parts of the AV. are in the main still the common Vedic metres, gāyatrī, anuṣṭubh, pañkti, in, short metre; tristubh, and jagatī, in long metre. A considerable part of the Śaunakīya-text, notably book 15 and most of book 16, are in prose<sup>1</sup>; metrical and prose matter are a good deal mixed up<sup>2</sup>, so that it is frequently difficult to determine whether a passage is merely cadenced prose, or doggerel metre, or originally good metre spoiled by interpolations and additions which at times distinctly betray themselves as glosses. The Bṛhatsarvānukramanī, in the course of its struggles with these defective metres, enriches the metrical terminology with new varieties: the words, *niṣṭ*, *bhury*, *garbhā* (e. g. *īrād-garbhā bhurīk*), *ārjī*, etc. figure frequently<sup>3</sup>. The metres vary in the same hymn more than is customary in the RV.; it would seem as though this variation was in a measure felt to be a stylistic or literary device<sup>4</sup>. I. g., it is hardly mere accident that many hymns open with a (to our feeling) livelier anuṣṭubh stanza (short metre), and continue with tristubh-stanzas (long metre); see 1. 13; 1. 18; 2. 29; 4. 16; 6. 3 <sup>1ab</sup>, 6. 49, 7. 68, 7. 72 (cp. RV. 7. 103). Occasionally an anuṣṭubh-hymn opens in still livelier gāyatrī 2. 32, 4. 12. Conversely some effect, perhaps the opposite effect of solemnity, seems also to be intended when a short metre hymn is introduced by a tristubh 2. 4; 3. 5; 5. 7, 6. 111. It is perhaps no accident that the Vedic wedding-stanzas are prevalingly anuṣṭubh, the funeral-stanzas tristubh. The metres of the AV. are on a level with those of the Grhyasūtras. Aside from the greater freedom and irregularity of all types this is shown by applying OLDENBERG'S test of the anuṣṭubh<sup>5</sup>. The original Atharvanic anuṣṭubh stanzas, i. e. those that do not coincide with the hieratic RV. stanzas, differ from the Rīg-Vedic anuṣṭubh on the one hand, and from the Epic and Buddhist sloka on the other. Whereas in the RV. the first pāda of the anuṣṭubh hemistich regularly ends in a dambus or second pēon (— — —), and in the Epic and Buddhist sloka still more regularly in a first epitrite or antispast (— — —), the first pāda of the Atharvan and Grhya hemistich permits these as well as all other possible feet of four syllables. The hymns that were tested for this purpose are 1. 1, 1. 2, 1. 7, 1. 8, 5. 19, and 12. 4. 1—20, in addition to single stanzas of many other hymns. The Atharvanic and Grhya anuṣṭubh may be designated as the popular anuṣṭubh in distinction from the hieratic anuṣṭubh of the soma-hymns in the RV. a hymn like RV. 10. 85 is, of course, in popular anuṣṭubh. Considering the absolute quantitative freedom of the eight-syllable line of the Younger Avesta<sup>6</sup>, we have reason to assume that the popular and freer anuṣṭubh is structurally and chronologically earlier than the better regulated hieratic (soma) anuṣṭubh, an assumption which is no wise disproved by the parallel grammatical and lexical criteria of the two types of literature (see below, § 42). The theory that the development of the popular foot took place from — — — —, through — — — — to — — — — is on its face implausible: in the light of the trend of all Hindu

metrical development the change from the regulated type ~ ~ ~ ~ to the free type ~ ~ ~ ~ is unparalleled and unintelligible. Instead we may assume that the Aryan free octosyllabic lines, grouped into two hemistichs of 16 syllables developed the iambic cadence at the end of each hemistich in prehistoric Vedic times, and continued so in the more popular poetry until the beginnings of the Epic and Buddhistic śloka. At the same time a more exquisite treatment at the hands of the hieratic poets developed the Rig-Vedic anuṣṭubh on a parallel line, by repeating the final cadence of the hemistich before the caesura in the middle of it?

§ 39. On the critical restoration of Atharvan metres. — Atharvan metres are so generally capable of improvement that we are in danger of singing our own rather than Atharvan hymns, when we apply ourselves to the task of improving them. An uneasy sense is left that we all know how to make better verse lines than those that have somehow got to be in vogue among the Atharvan writers, carried out to its full consequences this would eliminate one of the more marked peculiarities that render the Atharvan what it is<sup>8</sup>. Yet it is impossible to abstain entirely: such abstemiousness would suggest the equally mistaken view that all Atharvan stanzas are before us in the form in which they were originally composed. Great tact and a keen sense of where to draw the line are particularly required in amending the text in any case the critic upon whom this task is forced may not hope to escape error altogether. In the very opening hymn (1. 1. 4<sup>b</sup>) it seems necessary to throw out the entirely unmetrical *hṛayātām*, although what remains is by no means perfect. But there are far more certain cases: in 2. 3. 6<sup>d</sup> *rahasam* is surely a gloss, so also *krinūn* in 2. 31. 4<sup>c</sup>. In 2. 33. 5<sup>cd</sup> *bhāṣadām* is certainly superfluous, being derived from the parallel version, RV. 10. 163. 4. Quite certain are the following cases of interpolations and glosses: *devān* in 3. 15. 5<sup>d</sup>, *brahmayasya* in 5. 19. 7<sup>d</sup>, *takmanis* in 5. 22. 5<sup>c</sup>; *haviṣa* in 6. 40. 1<sup>d</sup>, *svasti* in 6. 40. 2<sup>d</sup>, *diso* in 6. 98. 3<sup>b</sup> (cf. TS. 2. 4. 14. 1; MS. 4. 12. 2), *dantau* in 6. 140. 3<sup>c</sup>, *puru* in 7. 21. 1<sup>d</sup>, *deva* in 7. 70. 2<sup>c</sup> (cf. TB. 2. 4. 2. 2); *amitrā* in 8. 8. 2<sup>cd</sup>, *arsanūr* in 9. 8. 21<sup>c</sup>, *visvasya* in 9. 10. 14<sup>c</sup> (cf. RV. 1. 164. 35<sup>b</sup>; VS. 23. 62<sup>b</sup>; LS. 9. 10. 14<sup>b</sup>), *duskrite* in 10. 1. 23<sup>c</sup>; *vār ugram* in 10. 4. 3<sup>d</sup>, 4<sup>d</sup> (cf. 7. 56. 3<sup>d</sup>, 7<sup>d</sup>), *mātarisā* in 10. 9. 26<sup>c</sup>; either *ubhe* or *ime* in 11. 5. 8; *pṛthivyām* in 11. 5. 12<sup>cd</sup>, *catasrah* in 19. 1. 3<sup>c</sup>. Less certain is the disposition of *palur* in 3. 4. 1<sup>b</sup>, *grhanām* in 3. 12. 6, *gandharvan* in 4. 37. 8<sup>c</sup>; *amūm* in 5. 8. 8<sup>c</sup>, *sacetasah* in 6. 68. 1<sup>cd</sup>, *manasā* in 6. 83. 4<sup>c</sup>; *adharo* in 6. 134. 2<sup>a</sup>; *kalafah* in 9. 1. 6<sup>b</sup>, *bhiksām* in 11. 5. 9<sup>b</sup>. And there are, of course, cases in which corrections of other sorts strengthen the impression that the metres may be improved by critical restorations. Thus the defective pāda 9. 2. 4<sup>d</sup> is followed in the same hymn, pāda 9<sup>d</sup>, by what reads like its own correction; or, the temptation to make over into good metre 9. 5. 1<sup>ab</sup> so as to read, *ā naya etam anv ā rahhasa, sukṛtām lokam gachatu prajānan*, is very great. Similarly 11. 2. 2 may be much improved by transferring *arisyavah* at the end of the first hemistich (so also AVP.) to the second hemistich<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand there are not wanting instances in which inferior metre is on second thought proved to be just what the Atharvavedin wrote. Thus 9. 4. 22<sup>cd</sup> consists of two defective pādas; the first being short, the second ending in a wrong cadence: *āyur asmabhyam dadhat prajān ca, rāyaś ca poṣair abhi nah sacatām*. All attempts to better this hemistich are wasted, because it is nothing but a secondary transfer from the plural to the singular of the perfectly good hemistich 18. 4. 62, *ayur asmabhyam dadhatāḥ prajān ca, rāyaś ca poṣair abhi nah sacadhām*. Or, one might be tempted to amend the short pāda 2. 4. 6<sup>b</sup>, *atho aratidūṣṭh*, especially as it is repeated in a

metrically preferable form in 19. 34. 4<sup>b</sup>, *atho arātīdīśanah*. But the entire character of the last hymn is inferior and its version of the pāda is probably in the nature of a secondary *lectio faciliior*: the catalectic line, 2, 4. 6<sup>b</sup>, had best be left undisturbed, as such lines must be in many other instances<sup>10</sup>. Anyway there are almost countless cases in the AV. in which corrections at the hand of the metre would really amount to independent composition, cases like 3. 28. 1; 4. 11. 4<sup>b</sup>, 6<sup>d</sup>; 4. 17. 3<sup>cd</sup>; 5. 7. 1<sup>cd</sup>; 6. 134. 3; 7. 76. 5<sup>a</sup>; they not only point out the need of extreme caution in general, but tend to shake confidence in all but the most unavoidable emendations.

§ 40. Order of stanzas and concatenation as critical aids. — Of distinct strophic arrangement of stanzas there is little or nothing in the AV.; the arrangement of the hymns in the various books according to the number of their stanzas is also carried out in a very crude and superficial manner<sup>11</sup>. Hence there is very little basis for a critique of the arrangement of the stanzas in a given hymn, or the distinction between original stanzas and such as may have been added by a later hand. Nevertheless the existing text is open to improvement in these respects, although subjective impression is here more easily than in other forms of criticism confounded with historical reality. To begin with, some hymns are certainly composite, as may be readily gathered from their context and their employment in the ritual books; e. g. 4. 38; 7. 74; 7. 76<sup>12</sup>. For no visible reason, but yet certainly, 6. 48. 2 and 3 have changed places. Vait 17. 10 and the parallel versions have them in the right order<sup>13</sup>. The long hymn 12. 4 shows traces of confusion in the order of its stanzas: the fourth may be suspected of having stood originally after the fifth, because the second hemistich of st. 4 seems to summarize the statements made in the remaining three hemistichs of the two stanzas. Similarly there seems to be considerable confusion in the order of stanzas 43—47. cf. the rearrangement proposed by the author<sup>14</sup>. When we find in the midst of the wedding-stanzas of the *surya-sukta* (14. 1. 1 d = RV. 10. 85. 1 ft.) the stanza 14. 1. 17, which is evidently RV. 7. 59. 12 in a form adapted to the marriage-rites (*aryamanam* substituted for *trīambakam*), we may judge at least that it did not belong to the original stock of the wedding-stanzas, on the other hand the concatenation of its second hemistich with 18<sup>ab</sup> would seem to show that it was adapted to serve in the very place where it occurs in the AV. Similar considerations will show that the stanza 14. 1. 43, in concatenation with 44, although also of secondary workmanship — it occurs nowhere else — yet holds its place by rights in the AV. Concatenation is a very common feature in the AV<sup>15</sup>, and to a certain extent guarantees the order of stanzas in the Saṃhitā. Thus all three stanzas of 6. 42 and 6. 118 concatenate, so that we may feel fairly sure that the Atharvan composer placed them in this order, whatever may have been their pre-history, whether they were original with the Atharvanist, or first composed in another quarter of Vedic activity. So also the first two stanzas of 6. 118 occur again MS. 4. 14. 17; TA. 2. 4. 1 (cp. TB. 3. 7. 12. 3), the third seems original with the Atharvanist; yet it is not therefore in any sense a stranger to the Atharvan redaction. The same rhetorical device of concatenation may at times point to the exclusion of one of the connected stanzas, e. g. the irregular stanza 5. 14. 11, containing the expression *mrgāḥ*, may have slipped in because of *mrgam* in stanza 12. or 5. 4. 6, also irregular, containing the words *ā : aḥ*, may have been placed where it is, because of *nirīkṣāḥ* in stanza 5. Again, a verse that interrupts two concatenating stanzas may be suspected; e. g. 3. 30. 6, interrupting stanzas 5 and 7; or 2. 3. 4, interrupting stanzas 3 and 5; cp. also our remark on 7. 114. 2, above, § 37, en 1. In the commentary to

our translation, SBE. XLII, we have never treated such cases as anything more than possibilities: such criteria rarely seem coercive, as we have no reason to rely much on the conscious directness of purpose, or certainty of touch of the Atharvan poets in any such matters.

<sup>1</sup> A compact list of the prose passages is printed by WHITNEY, *Index Verborum*, p. 5 ff. — <sup>2</sup> Cp. e. g., 4. 3. 7<sup>cd</sup>; 4. 11. 7<sup>d</sup>; 4. 12. 6; 5. 29. 14; 6. 16. 3; 6. 76. 5<sup>c</sup>; 7. 81. 4, 5, 7. 82. 2; 8. 2. 11; 10. 6. 35. — <sup>3</sup> Cp. the extracts from the *Anukramāṇi* in WEBER's translations of AV. 3—5, IS. XVII. 177 ff.; XVIII. 1 ff. — <sup>4</sup> BLOOMFIELD, JAOS XLII. 176, note. — <sup>5</sup> ZDMG. XXXV. 181 ff.; XXXVII. 62 ff.; Die Hymnen des Rig-Veda, p. 26 ff.; SBE. XXX, p. 21 ff.; XXXV ff.; cp. JACOBI, IS. XVII. 442 ff. — <sup>6</sup> GEIDNER, *Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, p. vi ff., 60 ff. — <sup>7</sup> Cp. WINTFRANZ, *The Mantrapāṭha*, *Introd.* p. XLIV. — <sup>8</sup> BLOOMFIELD, SBE. XLII. p. 296, 584; OLDENBERG, *DI Z. March* 1897, p. 370. — <sup>9</sup> SBE. XLII. 619. — <sup>10</sup> Cp. WHITNEY, *Index Verborum*, p. 5. — <sup>11</sup> See above, § 37. — <sup>12</sup> Kanś. *Introd.*, p. xi ff.; cp. *Index Verborum*, p. 5. — <sup>13</sup> See BLOOMFIELD, *Contributions*. Isth Series. JAOS. XVI. 5, above, § 36. — <sup>14</sup> See BLOOMFIELD, *Contributions*. Isth Series. JAOS. XVI. 5, note 3; cp. in the *Saṃhitā* itself the proper arrangement of the corresponding stanzas 6. 47. 2 and 3. — <sup>15</sup> SBE. XLII, p. 660. — <sup>16</sup> E. g. 1. 23. 1, 2; 4. 1. 4<sup>b</sup>, 4<sup>c</sup>; 4. 8. 4, 5, 6; 4. 29. 1, 2; 4. 36. 3, 4; 4. 37. 9, 10; 5. 11. 7, 8, 9; 5. 14. 1, 2; 5. 20. 1, 2, 5. 22. 3, 4, 5; 5. 22. 8, 9; 5. 29. 2, 3; 5. 29. 12, 13; 5. 30. 8, 9; 6. 15. 1, 2, 6. 63. 2, 3; 6. 99. 2, 3; 6. 117. 2, 3; 6. 123. 1, 2; 6. 138. 1, 2; 8. 2. 7, 8; 9. 2. 9, 10; 9. 5. 21, 22; 9. 5. 23, 24; 10. 8. 22, 23; 12. 5. 5, 6; 12. 3. 41, 42, 12. 3. 43, 44, 13. 1. 6, 7; 13. 1. 53, 54.

## C. THE RELATION OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA TO THE REMAINING HYMN-COLLECTIONS.

§ 41. Special features of the Atharvan collection; its connection with ApS. and TB. — The relation of the text of the AV. in the *Saunakīya*-version to the other collections of Vedic mantras is both intimate and intricate. A complete survey of these relations can be obtained only by means of such a concordance of these mantras as has been gathered up by WHITNEY for his posthumous work on the AV., now passing through the press in the *Harvard Oriental Series*<sup>1</sup>. A yet more perfect insight into the relationships of the Atharvan mantras will result from the pāda-concordance of the entire body of Vedic mantras which is being compiled by the present writer<sup>2</sup>. The Atharvan is very reminiscent in unexpected places, often in hymns that are on the whole original with the AV., a shorter or longer passage, frequently only a single pāda, appears to have been borrowed from another connection, or, to state it more cautiously, to coincide with another collection. Thus in the very first hymn pāda 3<sup>b</sup> = RV. 10. 166. 3<sup>b</sup>; in the second hymn pādas 2<sup>ab</sup> are variants of RV. 6. 75. 12<sup>ab</sup>, pāda 2<sup>d</sup> = RV. 3. 16. 5<sup>d</sup>. Other instances of fragmentary correspondences are AV. 1. 17. 4<sup>c</sup> = RV. 1. 191. 6<sup>c</sup>; AV. 1. 26. 1<sup>c</sup> = RV. 1. 172. 2<sup>c</sup>; AV. 2. 2. 2<sup>b</sup> = RV. 8. 48. 2<sup>b</sup>; AV. 2. 12. 4<sup>b</sup> = RV. 7. 44. 4<sup>d</sup>; AV. 4. 4. 4<sup>a</sup> = RV. 10. 97. 8<sup>a</sup> (et al.); AV. 4. 5. 7<sup>c</sup> = RV. 10. 166. 2<sup>b</sup>; AV. 4. 10. 6<sup>c</sup> (formulaic appendage = 2. 4. 6<sup>d</sup>; 12. 2. 13<sup>d</sup>; 14. 2. 67<sup>d</sup>) is common in the entire mantra-literature; AV. 5. 20. 8<sup>b</sup> = RV. 10. 103. 10<sup>a</sup> (cp. 10<sup>b</sup>); AV. 5. 21. 11<sup>ab</sup> (= 13. 1. 3<sup>ab</sup>) = TB. 2. 5. 2. 3<sup>ab</sup>; AV. 6. 80. 1<sup>ab</sup> = RV. 10. 136. 4<sup>ab</sup>; AV. 8. 7. 27<sup>a</sup> = RV. 10. 97. 3<sup>b</sup>; AV. 10. 1. 6<sup>a</sup> = RV. 10. 164. 4<sup>c</sup>; AV. 10. 8. 40<sup>cd</sup> = RV. 8. 101. 14<sup>cd</sup>; AV. 10. 9. 27<sup>e</sup> = RV. 4. 50. 6<sup>d</sup> (et al.); AV. 10. 10. 32<sup>ab</sup> = RV. 10. 154. 1<sup>ab</sup>; AV. 11. 1. 3<sup>d</sup>, 11<sup>d</sup> = RV. 4. 50. 10<sup>d</sup>; AV. 13. 1. 11<sup>d</sup> = RV. 10. 123. 8<sup>d</sup>; and many other instances. These correspondences fade out into mere reminiscences or echoes, as when, e. g., AV. 3. 1. 2 is made up from a variety of RV. motives (AUFRECHT, KZ. XXVII. 219; BLOOMFIELD, SBE. XLII. 326). Similarly AV. 3. 3. 2<sup>b</sup>, 5<sup>d</sup> reminds one of RV. 10. 103. 6; or AV. 4. 7. 2, 3 of RV. 10. 187. 10; or AV. 5. 23 of RV. 10. 191; or AV. 1. 26 of RV. 1. 172; or AV. 2. 3 of TB. 2. 5. 6. 4.



In this connection are to be mentioned a number of interesting or curious points of contact of the Atharvan mantras with the remaining body of the Vedic hymns and formulas. AV. 1. 17. 1 is quoted by Yāska, Nirukta 3. 4, in a variant form which is not derived from AVP.; Durga to Nir. 6. 12 quotes AV. 12. 2. 28 with variants (perhaps those of AVP.); see Roth, Erläuterungen, p. 80. The JB. quotes in full AV. 5. 19. 1 with variants. AV. 4. 16 is unknown in the other collections, except that its sixth stanza is modulated interestingly SS. 1. 6. 3. A formula LS. 3. 5. 15 reproduces AV. 9. 1. 9, and a mantra in Vait. 36. 27 contains marked features derived from AV. 13. 1. 23. The prose formula AV. 19. 55. 5<sup>a</sup> is a variant form of MS. 3. 9. 4 (p. 129, l. 17), and the formulas AV. 20. 2 are somewhat independent versions of ApS. 11. 9. 8; KŚ. 9. 8. 9 ff. The fifth st. of AV. 3. 4 is quoted with a variant pratika, *ā prehi paramasjāḥ parāvātā (iti yājñanurākye)* at MS. 2. 2. 11 (p. 24, l. 3), but no such two stanzas are quotable elsewhere in the Maitrīyaṇī, or anywhere else in the literature: the pratika at MS. is employed in connection with a royal rite similar to that at the base of the Atharvan hymn. Quite a number of those sts. of the SV. which are not derived from the RV. occur also in the AV., as may be seen readily in AURFCHT's list of these sts. in the Introduction to the second edition of »Die Hymnen des Rig-Veda«, p. xlv ff. The correspondences of Atharvan and Gṛhya-stanzas are very extensive, and often disguised by corruptious and secondary manipulations of the original text: both varieties of mantras perform their share of these processes, but the mantras of the Gṛhyasūtras are even more corrupt than those of the AV. Cp. as examples AV. 5. 25. 8 with SG. 1. 19. 11; AV. 3. 10. 1 with SML. 2. 8. 1; or AV. 8. 6. 26 with HG. 1. 19. 7. Noteworthy, above all, are the special correspondences of the ApS. with the AV., showing dependence of the Sūtra upon the AV.: the variants of the ApS. are generally of inferior quality. Thus AV. 2. 7. 1 is reproduced in a corrupt form ApS. 6. 21. 2; the two sts. AV. 3. 7. 1, 2 appear, with inferior variants, ApS. 13. 7. 16, the opening sts. of AV. 5. 6 recur secondarily ApS. 16. 18. 7, part of the formula AV. 5. 9. 8 occurs at the beginning of ApS. 6. 21; the st AV. 7. 27 recurs with variants ApS. 4. 13. 4; AV. 8. 5. 19 appears with essential differences in ApS. 16. 19. 1, and similarly AV. 9. 5. 2 in ApS. 7. 17. 2, or AV. 12. 1. 55 in ApS. 5. 9. 11; the two sts. AV. 12. 2. 13, 14 are varied even more ApS. 9. 3. 22, especially noteworthy is the reproduction of the obscure formulas AV. 16. 2. 4 in ApS. 6. 20. 2 (end). We may also note that ApS. 16. 16. 1 reproduces with variants some of the slokas in Kaus. 97. 8, as a sign of connection between the two spheres of mantra tradition. Quite a considerable number of Atharvan hymns and stanzas recur in TB. and, apparently, nowhere else: e. g., AV. 1. 23, 24 in TB. 2. 4. 4. 1, 2, AV. 2. 10 in TB. 2. 5. 6. 1 ff., AV. 4. 8 in TB. 2. 7. 15 and 16, AV. 4. 22 in TB. 2. 4. 7. 7 ff., AV. 6. 38 in TB. 2. 7. 7. 1 ff.; AV. 6. 75 in TB. 3. 3. 11. 3 (ApS. 3. 14. 2), AV. 7. 70 in TB. 2. 4. 2. 1 ff., AV. 7. 99 in TB. 3. 7. 6. 1, AV. 7. 110 in TB. 2. 4. 5. 7; AV. 13. 1 (in part) in TB. 2. 5. 2. 1 ff. Since the TB. is the Brāhmaṇa of ApS. this marked relationship of both these texts with the AV. may possibly not be without significance; it seems to reach decidedly beyond that general connection which may be expected in all mantra-collections: no such degree of intimacy exists, e. g., between the AV. and the corresponding texts attaching themselves to the White Yajur-Veda, namely the SB. and KŚ.

§ 42. Relation of the language of the AV. to that of the RV. — All discussions of the relation of the Śaunakīya-Saṃhitā to the other Vedic collections must be regarded as provisional as long as the text of the AVP. remains inaccessible. Still certain general statements as to the relationship of

the Śaunakiya-collection with the RV. on the one hand, and the Yajur-Vedas on the other, are not likely to be subject to great change upon the accession of new materials. With the RV. the Śaunakiya shares about one seventh of its material, if we leave aside the hymns of book 20 that are borrowed directly from the RV.<sup>1</sup> Considerably more than one half of the RV. st. which correspond to the AV. belong to the tenth book of the RV., largely the last anuvāka of that book; about one sixth to the first book; about one tenth to the seventh book; about one eighth to all the other books put together<sup>2</sup>. In the overwhelming number of cases, aside from the wedding stanzas (AV. 14), and the funeral stanzas (AV. 18), the material common to the two Samhitās is Atharvanic in character, i. e. it consists of charms friendly or hostile; on the other hand the more general prayers which have for their theme the adoration of a given divinity, rather than the attainment of a specific object, are rarely shared by the two collections. The two styles of hymns may be conveniently designated as popular or Atharvanic on the one hand, and hieratic or ritualistic on the other. The language of the former class is related more closely to that dialect or dialects which are at the base of the language of the Brāhmanas, Sūtras, and the later literary forms in general. For reasons that are nearly always one-sided and subjective, sometimes patently erroneous, the language of the popular or Atharvanic hymns is generally regarded as chronologically later than that of the hieratic hymns, and thus every Vedic hymn that deals with popular matters is condemned on account of its language to a berth in the 'later Vedic period'. The scope of the present work does not permit the full discussion of this important question suffice it to say that many linguistic forms that are looked upon as indications of late date are in reality as old, sometimes older, than the entire individual period of the Aryan language in India. Thus the dual in *-au*, and the instrumental plural in *-ais*, though dealt with in such discussions as signs of a later time are Indo European forms (Goth. *ahtau*; Lith. *zilkais*); similarly the 'late' forms, stems, or roots *hrayāmi*, *karomi-kuru*, *panthānam*, *sarva* (as compared with *zīśva*), *raju*, *lubh*, *śap* for *sas*, which have been regarded as signs of late date are each of them prehistoric<sup>3</sup>. The question is therefore largely one of degree of closeness to the popular dialect or style of diction: this is the primary point of view from which the language of what we have called Atharvanic, or popular hymns can be compared with the hieratic hymns. A given form is not necessarily of recent origin because it begins to crop out in the tenth book of the RV., appears still more frequently in the popular Vedic collection of the AV., and is the regular form of the post-mantic language; nor, consequently, are hymns necessarily late because they abound in words and forms that are strangers to the diction of the hieratic hymns. A necessary preliminary to a final study of the relative chronology of the Vedic hymns is their separation into at least two classes which grew up along parallel lines, the hymns connected with the soma-worship and the hymns connected with popular practices. They are largely synchronous: each is addicted to its own dialect, differing from the other in lexicon, grammar, style, and metrical habits<sup>4</sup>.

That the purely linguistic data alone are a broken reed in support of the chronological fixation of a given hymn may be illustrated by a comparison of AV. 3. 18 with RV. 10. 145. The second st. of the RV. ends in *kuru* for which AV. reads *kr̥dhi*: now *kuru* is 'late', and *kr̥dhi* is 'old', i. e. it belongs to the hieratic sphere of diction. To suppose therefore that the Atharvan form of the hymn is older than that of the RV. would at first sight be the orthodox conclusion, but in st. 5 AV. reads 'late' *bhūta* for RV. *bhūtā*, and the RV.

readings, *parā dhama* for *parā nuda* (st. 2); *athā sapatnī* (RV. 3) for *adhaḥ sapatnī* (AV. 4); *gībhāmi* (RV. 4) for *jagṛha* (AV. 3); *atha tvam* for *atho nam* (st. 5)<sup>1</sup> make a better impression, and a decidedly strong case for the RV., rather than for the AV., as representing the original version of the hymn at the back of both redactions. The AV. has slipped into the hieratic diction in the case of *krdhi*, whereas *kuru* was quite natural in a popular hymn from the very earliest times, although, of course, it is also possible that *kuru* in the RV. was substituted in a popular mood for *krdhi*. All this is as though a preacher in the pulpit glided in and out of biblical diction in the course of his sermon: at one moment he may be employing the language of Isaiah or the Psalms, at another the most forceful popular speech of the day. The proximity of the language of the genuine Atharvanic hymns to that of the Brāhmanas and Classical Literature is no chronological criterion: only when what we have called hieratic hymns are modulated over into Atharvanic diction does the presumption of late date stand justified. Especially desirable is cumulative evidence: bad metre, obvious adaptation to secondary purposes, disjointedness of stanzas, and the like: they are the true Atharvan characteristics.

With a view to all these considerations there can be no doubt that the redaction of the AV. is of later date than that of the RV., that its external presentation by the *śāstakevāstae* is less scholarly, or rather more ignorant than that of the RV.; that the secondary application of old hymnal material — a kind of popular etymology exercised upon the stanzas, as it were — is more common than in the RV., that possibly some materials are directly derived from the ready-made Rig-Vedic collection, and, finally, that a good part of the AV. was composed at a very late time. On the other hand it is equally certain that the main current of Atharvan tradition, the Atharvanic or popular hymns by distinction, goes back to a head-spring quite as far away and as high up in antiquity — if not more so — than the hieratic or ritualistic hymns. A hymn like AV. 4. 16, representing the better type of Atharvanic effort, is quite as archaic as any RV. hymn of related character, a hymn like AV. 4. 12 seems even to be rooted in prehistoric antiquity. The assumption, e. g., that none of the numerous medicinal charms of the AV., notably the charms against *takman* (fever), existed prior to the redaction of the RV. is not warranted, as we have seen, by linguistic criteria, and contrary to sound ethnological consideration. Precisely these and kindred hymns contain most abundantly the evidence of prehistoric origin: see, e. g., AV. 7. 116 (SBE. XLII, p. 4 and 565). That the RV. picked up quite a considerable number of Atharvanic charms (see AUFRECHT'S edition, vol. II, p. 670 ff) and passed by others, is due to its prevailing character of a Śrauta Mantrapāṭha, so to say. The hieratic hymns were the theme that really concerned the R̥gvedin's interest: of other material he took what was conveniently at hand, without aiming at and without being able to reach exhaustiveness.

§ 43 The various readings of the RV. and the AV. — The following selection of examples may illustrate the interrelation of the materials common to RV. and AV. In AV. 1. 4. 4 the fourth pāda is an Atharvanic addendum as compared with RV. 1. 23. 19, and more particularly the other versions VS 9. 6, etc.: the Atharvanist clinches the statement of pāda c, *ati bhāḥ atha vyjñāh*, by adding the otherwise unknown pāda, *gāḥ bhāḥ atha rājñāh*. In 1. 29 *manuḥ* for *haruḥ* in RV. 10. 174, and the substitution of *abhi rardh* for *abhi rart* seem to represent later Atharvanic intensity. In 2. 12. 6 *atira* is inferior to *ati rā*, RV. 6. 52. 2. In 2. 33. 5<sup>cd</sup> the metrically superfluous *bhāḥ sadam* is certainly a gloss derived from the RV. version, 10. 163. 4.

AV. 6. 91. 3<sup>c</sup> as compared with RV. 10. 137. 6<sup>c</sup> has the variant *visṭasya* for *sarṇasya*: it is possible therefore to conceive of the Atharvan version of the st. as the older, though a 'hieratic' reminiscence may be all there is at the bottom of *visṭasya*. But what is truly significant for the date of the Atharvan redaction is the occurrence of the same stanza in AV. 3. 7. 5 with the last pāda altered from, *tās te kṛvāntu bheṣajam*, to, *tās tvā muñcantu kṣettriyaṭ*, indicating the adaptation of the stanza at an unquestionably later time to a secondary purpose. In AV. 3. 11. 3<sup>cd</sup>, 4<sup>cd</sup> we may safely assume a later handling of the pādas that appear RV. 10. 161. 3<sup>cd</sup>, 4<sup>cd</sup>; especially AV. 4<sup>c</sup>, *śatam śatam ta indro agnih savitā bṛhaspatih*, must be later than RV. 4<sup>c</sup>, *śatam indragṇī savitā bṛhaspatih*. AV. 3. 15. 3 occurs identically in its proper connection RV. 3. 18. 3: the word *ichamano* suggested its adaptability for the Atharvanic mixture compositum; the following hemistich of AV. is also secondary (RV. 1. 31. 16<sup>ab</sup>), gathered in by the Atharvanist because it speaks of the 'far road which we have travelled', an expression too suitable to a merchant's charm not to be recruited into it<sup>8</sup>. In RV. 7. 41 we have pāda 1<sup>a</sup> *harāmahe*, but in pādas 1<sup>d</sup>, 2<sup>a</sup> *huvema*; AV. 3. 16. 1, 2 flattens them all out to *harāmahe*. without any prejudice against the stem *hara-* as 'later' it may be safely assumed that this old hieratic hymn was by these changes brought nearer to the popular diction at a later time. In 3. 17. 2<sup>cd</sup> *virājah* for *girā ca*, and, *ā yaran* for *ayat* or *eyāt*, RV. 10. 101. 3 and the Yajurvedic versions, are both odd and secondary. AV. 3. 31. 5 is surely a mere mouthing over of RV. 10. 17. 1 (cp. AV. 18. 1. 53). The theosophic hymn (*hiranyagarbha*) AV. 4. 2 is described by WIDER, IS. XVIII. 9, as a disguised, altered, and mutilated version of RV. 10. 121 (et al.), adapted by the Atharvanist to the very use in which it appears Kaus 45. 1ff: when a *vaśā*, i. e., a supposedly sterile cow, is slain, and it turns out that she was pregnant, then this hymn is employed and adapted as a *prāyaścitta*. Similarly a comparison of AV. 5. 2 with RV. 10. 120, of AV. 5. 3 with RV. 10. 128; of AV. 6. 126 with RV. 6. 47. 29—31 will reveal every time better tradition on the part of RV. AV. 4. 9. 4 is an evident adaptation of st. 12 of the *oṣadhīstuti*, RV. 10. 97 (et al.). In AV. 4. 21. 5<sup>a</sup> *ichād* is a modern corruption of *aśan* (3<sup>d</sup> sg. of *a-*orist from root *chand*), RV. 6. 28. 5; cp. 'śnute for RV. *śnute* in st. 4. The three hymns AV. 6. 27—29 represent RV. 10. 165 with interpolations and corruptions: AV. 27. 3<sup>c</sup> is metrically inferior to RV. 3<sup>c</sup>; AV. 29. 1<sup>c</sup> to RV. 4 (*va* in AV. is superfluous); AV. 28. 1<sup>d</sup> has *prā padāt pāthi-sphaḥ* for RV. 5<sup>d</sup>, *prā patāt pāthi-sphaḥ*: the false accent of AV. *pāthi-sphaḥ* (it should be *pāthi-sphāḥ*, if it meant 'standing upon the road') betrays the secondary character of the Atharvan version; cp. also AV. 28. 1<sup>c</sup>, *saṃlobhayaṃto*, popular, for RV. 5<sup>c</sup> *saṃjopayanto*, hieratic, which are illustrated interestingly by the relation of AV. 12. 1. 29<sup>d</sup> (*sup*) to Kaus. 71. 19 (*sup*). In AV. 6. 92. 3<sup>b</sup> *dhātatu* for *dhatu*, RV. 10. 56. 2<sup>b</sup>, is a sign of secondary adaptation: the Atharvan version is part of a charm to endow a horse with swiftness. AV. 7. 39, as compared with RV. 1. 164. 52; TS. 3. 1. 11. 3 (cp. also Suparnī-hyāna 17.4), is secondary in its readings, and in pāda d exhibits adaptation to a practical purpose. The pāda, AV. 7. 89. 1<sup>a</sup> (10. 5. 46<sup>a</sup>), *apo dirya acāriṣam*, is scarcely to be recognized as the opening of that well known stanza which begins in other Vedic texts (RV. 1. 23. 23<sup>a</sup> et al.) with the pādas, *āpo* (or, *apo*) *adhyān acāriṣam*, and, *apo anu acāriṣam*: there can be no doubt about the secondary character of the AV. reading. In AV. 7. 91. 1<sup>c</sup> *naḥ* is metrically superfluous, and wanting in all other versions of the st., RV. 6. 47. 12; 10. 131. 6, AV. 20. 125. 51, etc. The st. AV. 7. 97. 2 is full of changes from the hieratic to popular diction as compared with RV. 5. 42. 4.

and partly also with the Yajur-versions (VS. 8. 15, et al.): *no* for *no*; *neṣa* for *neṣi*; *harivaṇ* for *harivaṇ*; *svatya* for *svasti*; cp. also the corrupt *brahmaṇḍi* in pāda c, assimilated to *devānām* in pāda d, for the correct *brahmaṇḍa* of the parallel texts. AV. 8. 7. 28 is a secondary working over of RV. 10. 97. 16, notwithstanding that AV. has in pāda d the more hieratic *viśvāsmā* for RV. *sarvāsmā*. To these examples may be added those pointed out by OLDENBERG, especially from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> books of the AV. 9: they also show the constant removal of the Atharvan stanzas from the more archaic hieratic form and thought sphere to the plainer habits of speech and thought of the people. Of especial significance for the chronology of the AV. seem to me to be certain cases in which that Veda employs one or more stanzas that coincide with the RV. as a theme which is expanded or beaten out, either into several stanzas, or into an entire hymn. Thus the two sts AV. 1. 19. 3, 4 seem to be nothing more than RV. 6. 75. 19 spun out, and rendered more typically Atharvanic by introducing Rudra and his arrows. AV. 1. 22 corresponds in its first and fourth stanzas to RV. 1. 50. 11, 12, the interior stanzas, absolutely original, seem to modulate and expand the theme set by sts. 1 and 4. Similarly AV. 3. 24. 1 = 10. 17. 14 (et al.) looks as though it had been picked out as the theme which a later poet might fitly develop into a song of the harvest. Again AV. 14. 2. 17, representing RV. 10. 85. 44, is followed by the similar st. 18 which is original with the Atharvanist, is linked verbally with 17, but does not add anything of consequence to the thought. A diaskeuastic performance like AV. 7. 50 in which the anuṣṭubh stanzas are original, the tristubhs common property, with distinct signs of adaptation to the aim in hand (gambling-charm), lends support to such analyses. The force of these necessarily subjective observations is increased a good deal by the unquestionable fact that the AV. handles stanzas seemingly original in the Yajus-Samhitās in the same way, the most notable instances being the two chains of hymns 2. 19—23, and 4. 23—29 (the so-called *mergarā*-hymns). See below, § 45.

§ 44. Traces of superior tradition in the AV. as compared with the RV. — As regards direct evidence that the AV. reaches in some respects behind the tradition of the RV. to that floating mass of mantra-materials from which all redactions flowed, it must be admitted to be weak in force in comparison with the evidence just presented. BARGATON and OLDENBERG have assumed that such evidence may be gathered from certain groupings of stanzas, and arrangements of hymns in both Vedic schools, and we have felt compelled, without denying the possible force of their observation, to suspend judgment upon them, at least until the evidence of the Paippalāda is in<sup>10</sup>. Such inferences as may be gathered from the metres, sense, and linguistic forms are rarely of such a nature as to prove the superior tradition of the AV. Occasional instances like AV. *krdhi* for RV. *kuru*, AV. *viśva* for RV. *sarva*, noted above, are almost forceless. An archaism (attraction) such as is contained in AV. 14. 1. 46<sup>4</sup>, *mayah patibhya janaye parinaye*, where RV. 10. 40. 10<sup>d</sup> reads *janayah*, looks a little affected, because the plural to match *patibhya* seems really to be demanded by the sense, and the general form of the obscure stanza seems more trustworthy in RV. than AV. In AV. 6. 27. 3<sup>b</sup> the form *āstri* (padap. *āstri* *iti*), for *āstryam*, RV. 10. 165. 3, is an archaic locative (Ath. Prāt. I. 74) which seems to indicate a certain superiority of the Atharvan text: this is, however, not borne out by pādas 2<sup>b</sup> and 3<sup>c</sup> whose Rīgvedic form is metrically preferable. Again AV. 8. 3. 7<sup>ab</sup>, *utārabhān sṛṇuhi jātāśca utārebhānāṃ ṛṣibhir jātubhānān*, as compared with RV. 10. 87. 7<sup>ab</sup>, *utārabhān sṛṇuhi jātāśca utārebhānāṃ ṛṣibhir jātu-*

*dhānat*, contains twice the 'old' form *rabh* where the RV. has 'late' *labh*, but pāda b is metrically superior in RV., and the sense of the RV. is also more compact (see LUDWIG's translation, nr. 430). Less available is the superiority of the reading AV. 3. 1. 4<sup>c</sup>, *viśvaksatyaṃ kṛnuhi cittaṃ ṛṣam*, 'deprive their schemes of fulfilment', for the senseless version, RV. 3. 30. 6<sup>d</sup>, *viśvaṃ satyaṃ kṛnuhi viśtam astu*, even though pāda a in RV. is distinctly superior to AV.<sup>11</sup> And so the reading *aviśvarinnām*, in contrast to *viśvavidam*, AV. 9. 9. 10<sup>d</sup>, is not only superior to *aviśvaminām*, RV. 1. 164. 10: it is of the kind that cannot be explained as due to later correction, but represents the original tradition of the stanza<sup>12</sup>. Cp. also *pariṣṭā*, AV. 14. 1. 7<sup>d</sup>, better than *pariṣṭam*, RV. 10. 85. 6<sup>d</sup>; *janāṃ anu*, AV. 14. 2. 10<sup>b</sup>, for the senseless *janād anu*, RV. 10. 85. 31<sup>b</sup>. Occasionally, too, there are to be found here, as in the inter-relation of all Samhitās, independent variants whose language and general impression seems equally good in both sources. Thus the little hymn AV. 6. 2 is related to RV. 7. 32. 6, 8, but its character is so independent and archaic, as to suggest original workmanship of no mean quality and age. Or the subtle modulation of RV. 6. 11. 4 (MS. 4 14. 15) in AV. 3. 3. 1, in spite of certain adaptive traits in AV. (*amunḥ naya*, in pāda d), is not easily accounted for as a working over of the RV. form; it represents rather an independent effort in the same sphere of ideas, whose language and date as compared with RV. cannot be said to be inferior. And there are, of course, throughout the AV., hymns and stanzas of a totally independent character that suggest very old 'workmanship', not only such as are of purely Atharvanic character and popular diction, but such as are written in good hieratic language. Thus the hymn to the battle-drum, 5. 20, may be later than the oldest parts of the RV., but there is in it nothing that suggests late composition, later, e. g., than the stanzas addressed to the drum, RV. 6. 47. 29—31 (AV. 6. 126, et al.). Or the language of the theosophic hymn 5. 1, which is original with the exception of stanza 6 = RV. 10. 5. 6, is not of such a character as to justify the belief that a later versifex might have so completely immersed himself in the style and mode of thought of the early Rishis as to be able to produce stanzas as good — or as bad, according to the point of view. Cf. also such a hymn as 6. 61. On the whole therefore the AV. is the bearer of old tradition not only in the line of the popular charms; but also to some extent, albeit slight, its hieratic materials are likely to be the product of independent tradition that has eluded the collectors of the other Vedas, the RV. not excepted<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. JAOS. XV, p. CLXVIII. — <sup>2</sup> Cp. *ibid.*, p. CLXXIII ff. — <sup>3</sup> See below, § 62. — <sup>4</sup> Cp. WHITNEY's tables, IS. II. 347. — <sup>5</sup> *hwayānu* is Avestan *hwayem*; for the dissyllabic roots in *u* see BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. XVI, p. CLVIII ff.; BB. XXIII. 107 ff.; *panthānam* is Avestan *panthānem*; *sarva* is Avestan *haurva*, etc.; *rajjū* is not separable from Lith. *raigis* 'braid'. Cp. HILFBRANDT, GGA. 1889, p. 401; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. XVII, p. 175, note 5. — <sup>6</sup> For the literature on this subject see ARNOLD, JAOS. XVIII. 204 ff.; ROHR, Abhandlung, p. 22 ff. — <sup>7</sup> *athā* at the beginning of pādas is a favorite Atharvan expression. — <sup>8</sup> Cp. SRE. XLII. 353. — <sup>9</sup> Die Hymnen des Rig-Veda, p. 320 ff. — <sup>10</sup> See above § 36. — <sup>11</sup> SRE. XLII. 326. — <sup>12</sup> OLDFENBERG, l. c. 323, following LUDWIG, V. 447. — <sup>13</sup> Cp. HILFBRANDT, GGA. 1889, p. 404 ff.

§ 45. Adaptation and expansion of Yajus-themes for Atharvanic purposes. — The preceding analysis of the relation of the AV. to the RV. has been on the whole in the nature of support to existing views on the subject. It does not seem at all likely that these will ever be materially changed. As regards the relation of the AV. to the Yajus-Samhitās the impression exists among scholars — to what extent it is not easy to say, because of the absence of definitive statements — that the AV. is entitled to a prior

position and date of final redaction as compared with the collections of mantras in the YV. Such a view, if it exists at all<sup>4</sup>, is not sustained by the facts in the case: on the contrary an extended comparison of the two classes goes to show that the redaction of the AV. holds much the same place compared with the redactions of the YV. as when compared with the RV. The materials common to the two Vedas appear in the main in better form and more original application in the Yajus than in the AV.; the special habit of the AV. to adapt and to group stanzas for secondary purposes is fully in evidence. Here again the Atharvan redactors may, in fact are likely to have gathered up some materials that escaped the scrutiny of the Yajus-redactors, or that had passed out of active use before the conclusion of these redactions, but the Atharvan redaction cannot well be assumed to have preceded the Yajus. The best evidence for this is not so much the general superiority of the readings of the Yajus as certain drastic methods by which the AV. forces purely liturgical stanzas into its own service of low folk-lore and witch-craft. The Atharvan in such cases has not in view incidental features of larger aims and performances, as is the case with the sorcery stanzas and formulas of the Yajus, but it makes the Yajus-stanzas in question the basis of an independent, self-centred act of the usual Atharvanic sort. It will be worth while to dwell in detail upon a few cases of this kind by way of establishing the presumption that this habit exists in the AV. on a larger scale.

In MS. 1. 5. 2; ApŚ. 6. 21. 1 we have five formulas addressed to Agni in which he is implored to attack with his manifold fiery qualities 'him that hates us and whom we hate'. These same five formulas appear AV. 2. 19, but this is followed by four other hymns in which Vāyu, Sūrya, Candṛa, and Āpah (the waters) are addressed in the same terms. To speak of the fiery qualities, *tapas, haras, areṣṭ, locis, tjas*, of Vāyu or the waters is of course possible in the course of the development of the later liturgic litanies, where everything is possible on a pinch. Yet it may not be doubted that the restriction in the *śrauta*-texts of these five appeals to Agni marks the original status: out of this the AV. has developed a formidable pentad in the second degree (25 formulas) which are prescribed, correctly no doubt, Kauś. 47, at the introductory oblations in *āṅgīrasa* practices (hostile sorcery). But further, the pentad of divinities is most characteristically Atharvanic. Whereas the Brāhmanical texts in general present times without end a cosmic-Vedic triad, Agni-Īrthuvī-Rigveda, etc., Vāyu-Antarikṣa Yajurveda, etc., Sūrya-Dyū Sāmaveda, etc., the Atharvan writings, craving a cosmic base for their Veda, expand this into a tetrad or pentad, by the addition of Candṛamas, or Candṛamas and the waters<sup>2</sup>: Kauś. 119. 2, 3, GB 1. 1. 17—20, 29, 2. 16, 24; 3. 24, etc. There can be no doubt that the old fire formulas were an original stock of Yajus, and that the AV. has expanded them to accord with notions of its own whose date cannot have been as early as that of the existing Yajus-collections.

Closely and characteristically similar is the history of the so-called *mṛgāra-sūktāni*, AV. 4. 23—29<sup>3</sup>. In the first place we may note that this litany consists of seven hymns of seven stanzas each, i. e., a heptad in the second degree; this numerical symmetry, in itself suspicious, points to secondary handling, just as in the preceding pentads. The entire litany aims, as its refrain-pādas clearly show, to drive out calamity (*muc amāśasā*). The structure of these hymns is as follows. barring 4. 28, the first and last stanza of each hymn consists of Yajur-mantras which are employed in the Yajus-saṃhitās as *yāyāpuroṇṇiākhyās*, TS. 4. 7. 15; MS. 3. 16. 5; KS. 22. 15; on the other hand the intervening stanzas in the AV. are in the main original. Now

it were possible to imagine that the Yajus-stanzas were picked out of longer hymns, though there is no special reason for such a supposition. That they were not gathered from the Atharvan hymns in question may be regarded as certain: why should the choice have fallen every time upon stanzas 1 and 7? More important, nay conclusive, however, is the fact that the intervening stanzas (2—6) in the AV. are obviously secondary padding. This may be seen best in 4. 29. stanzas 1 and 7 are of ordinary mantra-character, praising Mitra and Varuna in language that does not arrest attention. Stanza 2, on the other hand, in its first hemistich chews over pādas b and d of stanza 1, adding nothing but the beginning of a list of old Rishis whom Mitra and Varuna are supposed to have helped out of difficulties in the days of yore: they are the traditional worthies Bābhru, Angiras, Agasti, Jamadagni, Atri, etc. The dulness of the epigonal author betrays itself throughout: in stanzas 3 and 4 he repeats Atri's name, the whole is veritable clap-trap. It will not require close inspection of the intermediate stanzas of the remaining hymns to convince one that there also the outer stanzas are the 'leitmotiv', the rest the muse of a late author who relies in the main upon his own mediocrity, but occasionally gathers in some existing mantra or pāda. On the other hand the one altogether original hymn of the series, 4. 28, is addressed to Bhava and Sarva: these popular divinities must not be wanting in the AV. in any continuous invitation of *nirid*-character, addressed to the Vedic pantheon (cf. AV. 11. 2). Along with its originality 4. 28 exhibits also its particular Atharvanic character (*kṛtyākṛt* and *mūlākṛt* in stanza 6; *kimīdin* in stanza 7). the hymn is clearly an intruder in the sphere of ideas from which these *mrgāra*-stanzas are derived, lending itself conveniently to the building out of the numerical scheme, as well as to the Atharvanic idea of the proper way of making an exhaustive appeal to the most important members of the pantheon of that time.

We may in fact safely present the statement as the outcome of the preceding analysis, that the AV. handles the prose formulas of the YV. in a decidedly secondary fashion, and that both Yajus-formulas and Yajus-stanzas are frequently used as themes to which the Atharvanist has added new matter to suit his own devices. For instance 10. 5 is an incantation to the waters, being a long and weary litany, partly in Yajus-prose, partly in poor metre. In it occur as themes that are beaten out beyond endurance such formulas as, *indrasanyā stha* (VS. 37. 6), or *visnoḥ kramo 'si* (TS. 4. 2. 1). There is not the slightest chance that these formulas were borrowed by the YV. from the AV., nor can there be any doubt that the AV. got hold of these themes at a time when they were already perfectly familiar in their liturgical application to special acts of the *śrauta* sacrifice. Similary AV. 5. 24 is an over-long litany engaging the help of the pantheon, *asmin brahmany asmin karmāny asyām purodhayām* etc.: according to Kauṣ. 17. 30 the piece is recited on entering upon the duties of the *purohiti*, a rather secondary and Atharvanic restriction. Anyhow, the Atharvanic handling of this theme is secondary to that of the YV.: TS. 3. 4. 5; MS. 2. 6. 6; TB. 3. 11. 4; ŚS. 4. 10. 1—3; PG. 1. 5. 10; HG. 1. 3. 10, 11; if nothing else, *asmin brahmany* of the AV., as against *asmin brahmann* of the YV., points to later redaction and the passage out of the hieratic sphere to the popular. Similarly a prose hymn like AV. 2. 17, consisting of formulas of the type, *oḃo 'si, oḃo me dāh svāhā*, presupposes existing Yajus-formulas, developed into a litany for specific purposes; cf. VS. 19. 9; TB. 2. 6. 1. 5, etc. As regards the use of one or two Yajus-stanzas as a theme for an entire hymn there are quite a number of unquestionable cases. Thus AV. 1. 31 begins with the well-known stanza,



*āśānām atāpūlbhyaḥ*, TB. 2. 5. 3. 3; 3. 7. 5. 8; AŚ. 2. 10. 18; ApS. 4. 11. 1, etc., but the remaining stanzas of the hymn do not occur outside of AV. One needs but look at the stanza 2<sup>ab</sup> to eliminate the possibility that the YV. borrowed its stanzas from the AV: it is the latter that beats out the theme of the first stanza in good stupid Atharvan fashion. And the others are no better: the case is most convincing. Similar, though not quite so certain, is the structure of AV. 1. 35, addressed to the *dākāyaga*-amulet: the first two stanzas occur VS. 34. 51, 52; RV. Khila 10. 128. 8, 9; the last two are original, except that 4<sup>cd</sup> is formulaic (AV. 8. 2. 21). Here also it would seem as though the Atharvanist had borrowed an existing theme in order to build up a more substantial hymn suitable to his own devices. Again AV. 3. 19 begins with a stanza that occurs also VS. 11. 81; TS. 4. 1. 10. 3; MS. 2. 7. 7 (et al.), followed in the sequel, stanza 3<sup>cd</sup>, by two pādas that represent the continuation of the Yajus-texts. The very mixed character of the Atharvan stanzas makes at once for the supposition that the hymn is a mere elaboration of a pair of well-connected Yajus-stanzas: stanza 2 is hackneyed; stanza 3<sup>ab</sup> substitutes a triṣṭubh, whose metre disturbs, and whose tone is secondarily Atharvanic, for the regular anuṣṭubh Yajus-pādas; above all the introduction of *idam* in pāda 1<sup>a</sup> which makes the pāda falsely regular, ending in √—√, and changes the sense (*idam brahma* 'this charm', for *brahma* 'brahmanhood') — all these points are well accounted for if we regard the AV. hymn as a compilation, with the Yajus-stanzas as the main motive; it would be a total perversion to assume that the Yajus-texts selected and varied the two stanzas 1 and 3. The same kind of theory is applicable to AV. 6. 62 whose first stanza = MS. 3. 11. 10, TB. 1. 4. 8. 3, may have served as the theme: the other two stanzas seem to occur nowhere else, and they are not of such a kind as to exclude the notion of late origin by way of variations to the theme, even though they fall very well into the tone of the hieratic language. Or again, AV. 7. 20 begins with two anuṣṭubh stanzas that are familiar in the Yajus, TB. 3. 3. 11, MS. 3. 16. 4, the hymn continues with four triṣṭubh stanzas that are original. Again it would seem as though the Yajus-stanzas were the theme: the variant *mama* in AV. 1<sup>d</sup> for *mayaḥ* of the Yajus favors the assumption. A little different is the case of AV. 1. 20 and 21, two battle charms which are built up in the main upon mantra-stock that occurs also RV. 10. 152. The circumstances are as follows: the two hymns making together 8 stanzas coincide in their last 5 stanzas with the RV. hymn. The first three stanzas are patchwork, stanza 1 = TB. 3. 7. 5. 12. ApS. 2. 20. 6, stanza 2 = AS. 5. 3. 22, one can not say here exactly that the first stanza is the theme of the entire hymn, but certainly when the Atharvan compilation took place its first stanza existed as a Yajus, whence-soever the Yajus-text derived it, it was not borrowed from Atharvan sources, the reverse is altogether more likely.

§ 46. The various readings of the AV. and the Yajus-Samhitās. — Extensive comparison of the readings of AV. as compared with the Yajus show the former to be on the whole inferior to the latter: the tradition of the AV. is less pure in every way. The metres are more irregular, the grammatical forms and constructions less intelligible, the adaptive touches very frequent. Thus AV. 2. 6. recurs VS. 27. 1 ff.; TS. 4. 1. 7. 1 ff.; MS. 2. 12. 5, on the whole with insignificant variants, until we arrive at st. 4. Here AV. has in the middle of a triṣṭubh the non-descript pāda c, *sayatānām madhyamesthā*, for which MS. has, *sayatānām madhyamesthāya*, in good metre and excellent sense: the AV., in addition to the metrical irregularity, places *madhyamesthā* into agreement with Agni whom it does not fit nearly as

well as the person making the prayer: it is he that wishes to stand (superior) in the midst of his rivals. The other Yajur-versions have *sajatānām madhyamasthā cāhi* which is also possible metre, though not absolutely convincing; pāda b is superior in all the Yajus. In AV. 2. 28. 5<sup>a</sup> *naya* for *krdhi* of all other versions marks the popular strain: see, TS. 2. 3. 10. 3; MS. 2. 3. 4; TB. 2. 7. 7. 5; TA. 2. 5. 1. The st. AV. 2. 29. 3, quoted Vait. 22. 16, is repeated with variants MS. 4. 12. 3; KS. 5. 2; TS. 3. 2. 8. 5; KŚ. 10. 5. 3. In all these the difficult duals *dhattam* and *sacitasau* are replaced by singulars, *dadhātu* and *sararcasam* (KS. *su:arcasam*); and they all regard *āsir* as the nom. sg. of the stem *āsir* 'milk added to soma'; see especially Vait. and KS. (*āstram*). This construction fails in the AV. where *āsir* is the nom. sg. of *āsīs* 'prayer'. The dual *dhattam* in pāda b seems to refer proleptically to *dyāvāpṛthivī* in st. 4, as Śāyana assumes unhesitatingly. Note also *sauprajastam* (AV.) for *suprajastam* (YV); the former is a monstrosity. The entire st. of AV. is adapted secondarily to two persons who are engaged in the practice of transmitting disease one from the other: the Yajur-version has nothing of the kind, and its originality is not to be doubted<sup>1</sup>. In AV. 2. 34. 1, *ya ite paśupatiḥ paśūnām* is metrically inferior to *yeṣām ite*, TS. 3. 1. 4. 1, as also in st. 2, *pramuñcanto bhūtanasya reto*, to TS., *pramuñcamānaḥ* etc. AV. 3. 13 adapts a number of fanciful stanzas to the practice of conducting a river into a new channel: the first six sts. recur in TS. 5. 6. 1. 2—4; MS. 2. 13. 1 in connection with certain oblations of water (*kumbheṣṭakāḥ*, or *apām grahāḥ*), being evidently at home in the Yajur-ritual. As frequently elsewhere in the AV., the body of the hymn is mere ornamentation or, solemn verbiage, the seventh and last st. is original, turning forth the point of the hymn and the practice. Accordingly pāda 5<sup>d</sup>, *ā mā prānena saha varcasā gamat*, a jagati in the midst of tristubhs, is more modern and inferior to *ā mā prānena saha varcasā gan* (*varcasagan*) of the Yajus. The version of AV. 3. 14. 2, 3 seems inferior to that of MS. 4. 2. 10, where the gāyatri-form instead of the anuṣṭubhs of AV. and sundry readings, *pośā* for *pūṣā*, *avihrutāḥ* for *abibhyuṣiḥ*, and *purīṣyāḥ* for *karīṣyāḥ*, make a better impression. No hymn illustrates better the impurity, one might say the stupidity, of the rendering of Yajus-material in the AV. than the *apri*-hymn, 5. 27, which is repeated in all Yajus-samhitās, VS. 27. 11—22, TS. 4. 1. 8; MS. 2. 12. 6; KS. 18. 17; KapS. 29. 5. Whereas these texts agree in the main, the Atharvan version is verbally and metrically so corrupt as to be scarcely translatable. Notably the first pāda of the second st. appears in the AV. as the fourth pāda of the first st, thus depriving the second st. of its necessary *āpri*-divinity, *tanūnapāt*, and overloading st. 1 with two, the *saṁidh* and *tanūnapāt*; sts. 10—12 are mere hodge-podge as regards metrical arrangement. The version of AV. 6. 38 in TB. 2. 7. 7. 1 presents on the whole more primary readings in TB.: *agan* for *etu* in the refrain; *krandye* for *vāje* in 4<sup>b</sup>, the former being the archaic *lectio difficilior*, and in close parallelism to *māyau*; AV. 2<sup>b</sup>, *tvīṣir apsu goṣu yā puruṣeṣu*, is an obvious verbal and metrical corruption as compared with TB., *tvīṣir atveṣu puruṣeṣu goṣu*: to be sure contrariwise AV. 4<sup>a</sup>, *rājanie* seems better than *jā rājanye* of TB. The sense and the wording of AV. 6. 74. 3 is inferior to TS. 2. 1. 11. 3: the entire AV. hymn is patchwork; especially 3<sup>d</sup> exhibits the usual adaptive touches, to make the st. directly and practically serviceable. AV. 6. 98. 3<sup>ab</sup> reads, *prācyā dīṣas tām indrāsi rajoto-dīcyā dīṣo vītraham chatruho 'si*, for TS. 2. 4. 14. 1; MS. 4. 12. 2, *prācyāṇ dīṣi tvam indrāsi rajetodīcyāṇi vītrahan vītrahasi*: not only is *dīṣo* in AV., pāda b, metrically superfluous, but the AV. version is altogether slipshod. AV. 7. 3. 1<sup>d</sup>, *svayā tanvā tanvam airayat*, is a miserable pāda in a tristubh

st.; all other versions, TS. 1. 7. 12. 2; MS. 1. 10. 3; AS. 2. 19. 32; ŚS. 3. 17. 1; KS. 25. 6. 10, are better. In AV. 7. 4 *suhūte* is inferior to *svabhūte* of all other versions, and especially *viyugbhir*, in the sense of 'unhitching', replacing *niyudbhir*, and coined for the nonce to match *vi muñca*, exhibits the stanza in a corrupt and adapted form: see VS. 27. 33; MS. 4. 6. 2; SB. 4. 4. 1. 15; TA. 1. 11. 8; AS. 5. 18. 5; ŚS. 8. 3. 10. In the *tristubh* st. AV. 7. 6. 2 *pāda* b is a *jagati*, because AV. has substituted popular *harāmahe* for hieratic *hurema* of all other versions: VS. 21. 5; TS. 1. 5. 11. 5; MS. 4. 10. 1; AS. 2. 1. 29; ŚS. 2. 2. 14. The fondness of the AV. for *harāmahe* in place of *hurema* has beguiled it elsewhere into the same irregular proceeding: e. g. in 7. 10. 1<sup>d</sup>, compared with TS. 3. 1. 11. 3; MS. 4. 10. 1 (cp. also RV. 1. 164. 52<sup>d</sup>); or, compare AV. 7. 63. 1<sup>b</sup>, *ukthair harāmahe paramāt sadhastāt*, with the parallel *pādas*, *agnim hurema* etc., TA. 10. 2. 1 (68)<sup>b</sup>, and *ugram hurema* etc., Mahānārāyaṇa Up. 6. 6.<sup>b</sup>. In AV. 7. 14. 2<sup>b</sup> the reading *kṛpāt* of both published editions and the mss in *samhitā* and *padapāṭha* is nonsensical. Śrīyana reads and comments upon *kṛpā* in accordance with all the other numerous versions, SV. 1. 464; VS. 4. 25, VSK. 4. 8. 3; TS. 1. 2. 6. 1; MS. 1. 2. 5; SB. 3. 3. 2. 12; AS. 4. 6. 3; ŚS. 5. 9. 7. The comparison of AV. 7. 15 with the parallel versions, MS. 2. 10. 6, et al, reveals secondary readings and adaptation in AV.; in 7. 16 the AV. reads *zardhaya* for *bodhaya* of the other texts (MS. 2. 12. 5, et al), and to *bodhaya*, curiously enough, the ritual, Kauś. 59. 18, Vait. 5. 9, responds with its verb *bodhayati*<sup>s</sup>; in AV. 7. 47. 1<sup>b</sup> *suhavā* is inferior to *suhāram* of the other versions, MS. 4. 12. 6, et al. That the AV. version of the *rohita*-stanzas at the beginning of book 13 is inferior to that of TB. 2. 5. 2, and the result of adaptation has been shown by the writer, Contributions, Fourth Series, AJPh xii. 430 ff.

§ 47. The various readings of the AV. and the Śrautasūtras. — The comparisons just stated have shown incidentally that the mantras in the Śrauta-sūtras share in general the superiority of the Yajus-samhitās as compared with the AV. This seems to be true also of those cases in which AV. and Śrauta-sūtras present materials of the hieratic quality which do not occur in either RV. or Yajus-samhitās. As early as 1856 ROTT did not shrink from exposing the secondary manipulations and inferior readings of AV. 2. 5 as compared with AS. 6. 3. 1<sup>o</sup>, he might have added, if the text had been accessible, ŚS. 9. 5. 2. The liturgical form of these sts. in the Śrauta-sūtras, manifest from the insertion of secondary phrases, is disregarded and corrupted in the AV. to such an extent that the sts. are in reality untranslatable in its version. A detailed comparison of AV. 6. 1 with AS. 8. 1. 18 (= SV. 1. 177; AB. 5. 13. 8) exhibits the little hymn in what may be regarded as at least a more original form in AS. both in sense and metre. The hymn begins AS. *doro āgād brhad gaya*, 'now evening hath arrived, sing thou merrily', for this AV. reads, *doro gāya brhad gaya*, 'now sing in the evening, sing thou merrily': the first *gāya* seems a mere repetition of the second. *Pāda* 2<sup>a</sup> in AS., *tam u sthūy antahsindhum*, is corrupted metrically in AV., *tam u sthūy 30 antahsindhu*; and *pāda* 3<sup>b</sup> in AS., *sarīṣat vasuṣatīh*, is also more trustworthy than AV., *sarīṣat amrtāni bhūri*. Again AV. 6. 33 whose first two sts. are scarcely translatable in our version appears ŚS. 18. 3. 2 in a form which at least makes a show of intelligibility; cf. also AA. 5. 2. 1. 2—4; ArS. 1. 3. Similarly compare AV. 6. 35 with AS. 8. 11. 4; ŚS. 10. 9. 17, especially the senseless *pāda* 2<sup>o</sup>, *agnir ukthor arhasu*, with, *agnir ukthava zāhasā* of the Śrauta-texts. The distinction between hieratic and popular mantras is to be observed here as elsewhere: we may expect popular stanzas in as good or better form in the AV.; see especially the parallels between ApS. and

AV. grouped together above, § 41; or cf. the corrupt version of AV. 10. 3. 5 in TA. 6. 9. 2.

§ 48. Traces of superior tradition in the AV. as compared with the Yajus-texts. — Here and there, but rarely, the AV. seems to present superior readings; more frequently, the Atharvan readings seem no better and no worse than those of the Yajus-texts. PISCHLE<sup>1</sup> has made out a good case for the superiority of AV. 6. 27. 3 over TS. 3. 1. 11. 7: especially pāda b in AV. is superior to TS. which seems to be borrowed from RV. 5. 58. 3. In AV. 3. 4. 2 the first pāda, *tām viśe r̥ṇatāṃ rāṣṣya*, is almost certainly superior to the adapted, *tām gāvo r̥ṇata rāṣya*, TS. 3. 3. 9. 2; MS. 2. 5. 10, although the Yajur-version of the remaining pādas is at least as good as the Atharvan. In AV. 6. 5. 3<sup>2</sup> *kṛmo* is an instance of an occasional hieratic form for popular *kurmo* of the Yajus (VS. 17. 52; TS. 4. 1. 1. 2; MS. 2. 10. 4<sup>3</sup>), but this instance of superiority is at once reduced to the proper proportion on observing that pāda 2<sup>4</sup> in AV., *jivāṭave jarase naya*, is unmetrical, and the result of adaptation to 'dyugā'-purposes, as compared with the Yajus-pāda, *śajātānām asad taśi*. AV. 2. 10, notwithstanding the secondarily introduced refrain, is based upon a quite as good or better source than TB. 2. 5. 6. 1 ff.: see pādas 1<sup>a</sup>, 3<sup>a</sup>, and pāda 2<sup>b</sup>, *īṣṇi somaḥ sahaṃ dhibhiḥ*, which is also better than TB., *īṣṇi dyāvāprthivi sahaṃ dhibhiḥ*; in the latter *dyāvāprthivi* is out of keeping, borrowed from the preceding stanza, apparently to equalize the metre. AV. 3. 10. 1 impresses one as at least as good as its parallel, TS. 4. 3. 11. 5; in fact *duhām* in pāda 3 is an archaism, as compared with *duhṛva* in TS. Nevertheless the entire hymn in the AV. is a *mixtum compositum*, as may be seen especially in st. 7 which consists of an original gāyatrī-pāda, followed by a rather formulaic, imitative triṣṭubh-pāda<sup>5</sup>, and concludes with a common anuṣṭubh-hemistich (VS. 3. 49; TS. 1. 8. 4. 1, MS. 1. 10. 2). Instances in which the quality of the readings seems equally good as those of the Yajus are AV. 6. 47. 1, as compared with TS. 3. 1. 9. 1, KS. 9. 3. 21 (MS. 1. 3. 36 is inferior); or AV. 6. 55. 1, as compared with TS. 5. 7. 2. 3, where indeed pāda c in AV. is smoother, though probably not more original than TS. And in a case like the little hymn AV. 6. 79, as compared with TS. 3. 3. 8. 2, it seems equally impossible to establish chronological relation on the ground of the variants. Neither these nor other sporadic instances of intelligent handling of mantra-themes are likely ever to change the main proposition, namely that the collection and redaction of the AV. took place at a time when the main body of Yajus stanzas and formulas were in existence in essentially their present forms and present application. The fuller knowledge in the future of the Yajus-tradition likely to come especially with the publication of the Kāthaka and Kapiṣṭhala Samhitās will not change this, even granted that here and there an inferior reading regarded at present as of Atharvanic origin may in reality have come from a source outside of that Veda: in the majority of cases the Atharvan variants of the hieratic mantras are original with that Veda and inferior to the tradition of the Yajus, no less than to that of the Rig-Veda.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. WHITNEY, JAOS XII, p. 3, bottom. — <sup>2</sup> In the latter case Candramas is the divinity, corresponding e. g. to Agni; the waters are the element, corresponding e. g. to Pṛiṣṭi. — <sup>3</sup> See below, § 57. — <sup>4</sup> Cp. SBE, XII. 309. —

<sup>5</sup> Cp. HENRY, Le Livre VII, p. 58. — <sup>6</sup> Abhandlung über den Atharva-Veda, p. 11 ff. — <sup>7</sup> Ved. Stud. I, 84 ff. — <sup>8</sup> Cp. also *kṛdhi*, AV. st. 2<sup>2</sup>, for *naya* in YV. — <sup>9</sup> Cp. AV. 6. 47. 2<sup>d</sup>; TS. 3. 1. 9. 2<sup>d</sup>.

## PART III. CONTENTS OF THE ATHARVA-VEDA IN THE ŚAUNAKĪYA-SCHOOL.

§ 49. Classification of the hymns. — The classification of a body of 731 Vedic hymns is not an altogether easy matter. The question what a given hymn is about is not always to be answered in certain tones, even in the case of Atharvan hymns, although prayer and action are more closely allied in this than in any other Veda. All scholars are agreed now that the Sūtra of Kausika frequently furnishes valuable hints towards making out the situation within which many hymns were conceived, by furnishing the *mise-en-scène*, as it were, of a given hymn; but all scholars are also agreed that the Sūtra draws in a large measure upon the independent tradition of folk-customs and practices in general, interweaving the Atharvan hymns as prayers applicable to the situation with more or less fitness. The Atharvan hymns themselves, 'as the hymns of the Veda in general, are open to the charge of secondary adaptation of the floating body of Vedic stanzas to purposes different from those which were in the mind of the original composers; see SBE. XLII, Introduction, p. LXIII ff., and the Index under, 'adaptation of mantras'. In such cases, of course, the Atharvamic view is the one that primarily concerns the interpreter of the AV. A large number of hymns are hard to classify because of the variety of themes and objects presented in them. The arrangement of the hymns into ten classes, attempted for the first time by the author in his 'Hymns of the Atharva-Veda', SBE. XLII, has upon closer inspection proved quite tenable; it is made the basis of the following analysis. But in addition the materials that did not come within the scope of that volume had to be taken into account here; the result altogether is stated under 14 heads: 1) Charms to cure diseases and possession by demons (*bhāṣayāni*). — 2) Prayers for long life and health (*ajayāni*). — 3) Imprecations against demons, sorcerers, and enemies (*abharikāni* and *bhāṣapratiharanāni*). — 4) Charms pertaining to women (*strikarmanāni*). — 5) Charms to secure harmony, influence in the assembly, and the like (*sammanayāni*, etc.). — 6) Charms pertaining to royalty (*rajakarmanāni*). — 7) Prayers and imprecations in the interest of Brahmans — 8) Charms to secure prosperity and freedom from danger (*pausikāni*). — 9) Charms in expiation of sin and detilement (*prośaṣṭāni*). — 10) Cosmogonic and theosophic hymns. — 11) Ritualistic and general hymns — 12) The books dealing with individual themes (books 13–18). — 13) The twentieth book. — 14) The *kundūpa*-hymns. —

The only complete translation of the AV is that of the Anglo-Indian scholar R. T. H. GRIFITH, entitled, *Hymns of the Atharva Veda* (Benares, Lazarus & Co.). WHITNEY'S posthumous translation of the entire collection is going through the press, to be published in the Harvard Oriental Series (ed. C. R. LAMMAS). A large number of hymns have been translated by L. F. FORT in the third volume of his great work, *Der Rig-Veda*, p. 428 ff., as also scattering through the same volume, cp. the Index to the entire work, vol. VI p. 37 ff. A hundred selected hymns were translated by JULIUS GRILL under the heading, 'Hundert Lieder des Atharva-Veda', in the 'Programm des Seminars Mülbronn', Tübingen 1879, published in a second edition as an independent volume, Tübingen 1888. About one third of the hymns were selected by the present author for his volume 'Hymns of the Atharva-Veda, together with Extracts from the Ritual Books and the Commentaries', SBE. XII (ed. MAX MÜLLER). A considerable quantity of Atharvan matter is treated by KORN, *Abhandlung über den Atharva-Veda*, Tübingen 1836, and in the 'Festgruss an Otto von Böhltingk', p. 95 ff.; by J. MUKH in OST. (see the indexes to vols. I, IV, and V); by H. ZIMMER, *Allgemeines Leben* (see the indexes p. 433); by SCHERER.



(*yakṣma*), and of a considerable number of other diseases is almost the same in both. The present author has more recently identified the *asṛiṣa* of the AV. with later *atisāra* 'diarrhea'; the *apacit* of the AV. with later *apaci* 'scrofulous sores', and the Atharvanic disease which is described (AV. 6. 25) as *manja* and *skandhya* with the 'Manskunder' (also a scrofulous affection), as reported upon the basis of the classical Śāstras by WISE, Hindu Medicine, p. 316<sup>6</sup>. From the other side the gap between classical and Atharvanic medicine, still a wide one, has also narrowed very materially. The early views of European scholars as to the fabulous antiquity of the Āyur-veda (1000 B. C.) was criticized especially by HAAS and ZIMMER, but their disposition of the chronology of classical medicine seems to have erred almost as much in the direction of too great a modernness as the earlier view in the direction of an impossible antiquity<sup>7</sup>. The recent discovery of the Bower ms. exhibits medical science at about the fifth century A. D. in much the same condition and the same degree of development as in the medical Śāstras of Susruta and Caraka, presupposing an evolution which must have lasted some centuries when compared with even the later Atharvanic medicine of the Kauṣika<sup>8</sup>. The presence of foreign, especially Greek, influence in Hindu medicine has also been assumed on the ground of rather sparse points of resemblance<sup>9</sup>, whereas on the other hand the influence of Hindu medicine upon early Arabic medicine, and through it upon European medicine in general, is guaranteed beyond peradventure. JOLLE's forthcoming elaboration of Hindu Medicine in this Encyclopedia will doubtless throw additional light on these and kindred questions<sup>10</sup>.

The classification of the medical hymns of the AV. is difficult for various reasons: the meaning of the names of the diseases is often obscure; a great variety of unrelated diseases are often grouped in the same charm; the line between disease and possession by demons and demoniac influences is not drawn sharply, and the curative influences that are employed are either of the symbolic order, or consist of amulets instead of healing substances. These amulets are largely derived from the vegetable kingdom, the designation of the plants being again generally quite obscure. Good illustrations of the symbolic treatment are offered by the charm to cure jaundice (1. 22), and the brief charm against *takman* 'fever' (7. 116). In the former the yellow color of the patient is sent where it naturally belongs, to the yellow sun and yellow birds, the red color of the cow being substituted for the yellow; in the latter the hot fever is sent to the cool frog who may be supposed to find it enjoyable. On the other hand the *kusṭha* plant that is employed to help against fever (5. 4, 19. 39), or the pepper-corn that is employed in the quant charm against wounds (6. 109) cannot be supposed to owe their presence in these surroundings to any real medicinal properties. For all that a classification of the hymns yields a picture in vague outline of that same Hindu medicine that is treated so bulkily in the Śāstras and their descendant works. (Clearest in expression are the hymns against *takman*, or fever, the *ṣvara* of the later medicine. The word *takman* does not occur outside of the AV.) Four hymns, 1. 25; 5. 22; 6. 20; and 7. 116, are devoted to its cure; two others, 5. 4 and 19. 39, are addressed to the plant *kusṭha* with special reference to the cure of this disease. (Just as Susruta designates fever as 'the king of diseases' so the *takman* seems in Atharvanic times to have been the most dreaded ailment.) Its diagnosis seems to have been fairly searching and exact: 'the chief symptom is the alternation between heat and chills; it is intermittent, arriving either every day at the same time, every third day, or omitting every third day; and it is accompanied by jaundice which

suggests true malarial fever, especially during the rainy season. It is associated with a variety of other diseases, headache, cough, *balāsa*, *udūga*, and *pāman* 'itch' (also in the Avesta), the *takman*'s 'brother's son'. Its most salient symptom, heat, suggests Agni 'fire' as the cause. It is generally cured by prayer and conjuration to which the Kāṇḍika adds symbolic practices; the plant *kustha* and the tree *jaigīda* furnish amulets against it. Once (7. 116. 2) the cooling frog is suggested in the mantra, and applied in the corresponding practice of the Sūtra<sup>11</sup>. (Closely associated with the *takman*-hymns is 1. 12, an interesting charm addressed to lightning (Agni) conceived as the cause of fever, headache, and cough<sup>12</sup>. To the cure of jaundice, frequently mentioned along with fever, 1. 22 is devoted independently; the symbolic proceedings indicated above are executed energetically in the practices of the Sūtra<sup>13</sup>.

(The ancient Vedic disease dropsy (*jalodara*, 'water-belly'), the infliction of Varuṇa in punishment of moral delinquency (*anya*), is represented by three hymns, 1. 10; 7. 83; and 6. 24. In the latter (it seems coupled with heart-disease, an instance of good diagnosis. (The cure indicated both in the hymns and sūtras is water which is used symbolically and with a touch of *homœopathy*<sup>14</sup>. Again, in another disease which suggests the presence of overabundant humors, water and water-procuring ants ('piss-ants') figure as the remedy, in the same symbolic-homœopathic way (*attractio similitum*) as in the case of dropsy. The disease in question, *āsāva*, is treated in 1. 2; 2. 3; and 6. 44, the commentators define it as *atisāra* 'diarrhoea' which is correct in the main, although perhaps excessive micturition and other excessive discharges may have been included primarily. One of these charms (1. 2) seems to have been originally a battle-charm, adapted by adding st. 4 to its present use<sup>15</sup>. Another (6. 44) appeals for help to an object called *śiṣṇakā*, either a plant or a horn (at any rate with punning intention: *śiṣā* 'loosen')<sup>16</sup>. The converse of excessive discharges, namely constipation and retention of urine, is cured by 1. 3, and is accompanied by an interesting medical practice in Kaus. 25. 10—19. A disease whose vague description suggests either rheumatism or colic, due to the missiles of Rudra, is driven out with 6. 90; to this Kaus. 31. 7 adds homœopathically a spear-amulet to counteract the pains that seem as if from a spear. (Diseases of the pulmonary order are exorcised; in 6. 14, addressed to *balāsa*<sup>17</sup>, and to cough (*kāsa*) in 6. 105; 7. 107. (The terms *jakṣma*, *rājajakṣma*, and *ajñātajakṣma* (also *pāpajakṣma* in TS) are in the later medicine applied to pulmonary diseases<sup>18</sup>; for the Vedic period this definition seems too narrow: AV. 2. 33 (RV. 10. 163); 3. 11; 9. 8; 19. 36, 44, etc. point to the more general meaning 'wasting disease', or 'disease in general'. Very curious and problematic is 6. 80, accompanying an oblation (*havis* in the technical sense: see below, § 60, end) to the sun, conceived as one of the two heavenly dogs. In the ritual this is treated as a cure for paralysis (*pakṣahata*, hemiplegia)<sup>19</sup>. Three charms are directed against *kṛtriya* 'inherited disease' (2. 8; 10; 3. 7); the symptoms of the *kṛtriya* are not described: the disease may have been of the scrofulous or syphilitic order. Other internal diseases are alluded to incidentally, or grouped in the panaceas (*saralhaiṣaja* of the commentators), especially in 2. 33; 9. 8; and 19. 44. cf. for these ZIMMER, p. 378 ff., and the item 'diseases' in the Index to SBL XLII. 697.

<sup>12</sup> To the cure of ills of a more external character, especially skin diseases, a considerable number of charms address themselves. Leprosy (*kilāsa*) is cured in 1. 23 and 24 by applying black plants, *rajanī* and *śyāma*, (allopathic symbolism); abscesses (*śidradhā*) are mentioned with other diseases in 6. 127. 1;



9. 8. 20<sup>21</sup>. Of particular interest are the charms directed against scrofulous sores called *apacit* (later *apaci*), and related diseases: 6. 25; 6. 57; 7. 74. 1, 2; 7. 76. 1, 2; 7. 76. 3. Their character was misunderstood prior to the author's essay on this theme<sup>22</sup>. The sores, tumors, and pustules apparent in this disease are conjured in the hymns themselves to fall off, or fly away, because in the naive view of the folk they were supposed to have settled like birds upon the afflicted person. The Sūtra, however, treats the disease by drastic applications, and in one instance (6. 57) the famous remedy of Rudra, the *jālaśa* (urine), is indicated as the remedy by the mantras themselves<sup>23</sup>. (The cure of wounds and fractures is accomplished by two hymns (4. 12; 5. 5) which appeal to the plant called variously *arundhati*, *likṣā*, or *śīlacī*: the name *arundhati* points towards a punning symbolic connection between the disease (*arus* 'wound') and the simple. The first of these two hymns has been compared by A. Kuhn with the Merseburg charm, and many other similar productions from various Teutonic and Slavic sources<sup>24</sup>.) The pepper-corn (*pipṣat*) curiously figures in 6. 109 as a cure or preventive of the same trouble. Flow of blood is charmed to a stop by the pretty hymn 1. 17 which seems (st. 4) to indicate the use of a bandage or compress filled with sand<sup>25</sup>. The Brāhmanas and Sūtras mention types of Vedic lore designated as *sarpavidyā* and *viṣavidyā* 'science of serpents and of poisons'<sup>26</sup>. (These so-called sciences similarly to *yātuvidyā*, *rakṣavidyā*, etc., are referable in the main to the AV. which presents many charms not only to keep serpents from the premises (below, § 57), but also for the cure of their poisonous bites.) Such charms are 5. 13; 5. 16; 6. 12; 7. 56; and 7. 88, of these 5. 13 is of especial interest as containing many words founded upon the bed-rock of folk-lore, among others the word *tuburam* which WESTER has identified with 'taboo', not, however, failing to recognize the attendant difficulties<sup>26</sup>. The importance of this particular phase of witchcraft is shown by the existence of the Gīruṣi-Upaniṣad which is nothing more than a charm against snake bites, put into the mouth of Brahman, and elevated to the position of *brahmavidyā*<sup>27</sup>. In the Bengal Presidency alone the number of deaths from serpents bites in 1876 amounted to 11416<sup>28</sup>. And (there are also charms directed against poison not derived from serpents, 4. 6 (poisonous arrows), 4. 7, and 6. 100. In these cases water seems to be depended upon as a cure, of especial interest is 6. 100 in which the water-producing ants (*upajika*) yield the healing fluid<sup>29</sup>. The ritual reinforces these poison-charms with appeals to Takṣaka (Vasīṣṭha), the serpent-good<sup>30</sup>. To the cure of worms (*kṛmi*) three charms are devoted 2. 31 (worms in general), 2. 32 (worms in cattle), and 5. 33 (worms in children). Identical, or similar stanza is appear in many other texts, especially TA. and SV. Mantrabrāhmaṇa: (A. Kuhn has shown that the greatest variety of diseases are regarded in the naive view of folk-medicine as due to the presence of worms. This accounts for 'worms in the head' (2. 31. 4) 'the variegated worm, the four-eyed' (2. 32. 2), and the like<sup>31</sup>.) The Sūtra presents complicated practices. The charm 6. 16, addressed to a substance called *abāyu*, which Kauṣika identifies with mustard, is directed against ophthalmia, a disease of the eye, *alajī*, known in the later medicine<sup>32</sup>, is mentioned 9. 8. 20. In the same hymn and elsewhere diseases of the ear are also mentioned (9. 8. 1, 2). 'Three lively, picturesque charms, 6. 21; 136; 137, cause hair to grow luxuriantly: 'With reins they had to be measured, with outstretched arms they had to be measured out. May thy hair grow as reeds, may it (cluster), black, about thy head!' (6. 137. 3). One of these charms (6. 136) is performed with the otherwise unknown plant *nītatū*, 'she that takes root'; all three are accompanied in the Sūtra by fanciful symbolic

practices. (Three charms, 4. 4; 6. 72; and 6. 101, in language not at all veiled, profess to promote virility (*śepaharṣana*).)

A maniac 'who, bound and well-secured, loudly jabbars' is exorcised in 6. 111. Insanity is due to possession by demons, especially the mind-bewildering Gandharvas and Apsaras<sup>33</sup>. At this point especially Atharvanic medicine passes over into demonology: the boundary-line between the two is rarely well-defined<sup>34</sup>. This class of hymns, therefore, is in close contact with those treated here in the third category. The rather romantic charm 4. 37 appeals to the plant 'goats-horn' (*gajatrīgi*: *commis*, *majatrīgi*, and *viśāṇi*) to drive Rakṣas, Apsaras, and Gandharvas out of a possessed person. The choice of this particular plant is probably due in part or entirely to its meaning (etymological symbolism). Rakṣas and fits (*grāhi*) are driven out in 2. 9 with an amulet made from ten different kinds of holy (*śānta*) wood; demons and diseases in 19. 36 with another composite hundred-fold amulet. The last three charms have suggested analogies from Teutonic folk-lore<sup>35</sup>. Rakṣas and Piśācas are also exorcised in 4. 36 and 6. 32. The plant *prśniparū* is conjured, 2. 25, against the demon of disease called *kaṇva*, conceived especially as the devourer of the embryo in the womb. Puśruta still recommends the *prśniparū* as a preventive against miscarriage (*garbhasrāve*)<sup>36</sup>. Three charms, 2. 4, 19. 34, 35, addressed to an amulet derived from the *jaṅgida*-tree, are directed against diseases and demons.

(At another point the remedial charms pass over by imperceptible degrees into the class of the 'life-giving' charms (*āyurjāni*) of our second category. Special substances, or water and the plants in general, are implored for complete exemption from sickness (*sarīrārogaḥaiśajya*, i. e., panaceas). Thus the *varaṇa*-tree (*var* 'protect') in 6. 25; the plant *kustha* in 6. 95; the *cipudrū*-tree in 6. 127; bdellium in 19. 38, barley and water in 6. 91; an amulet of salve (*aṣṭjana*) in 19. 44. Or Soma and Rudra are appealed to in 7. 42 (RV 6. 74. 2, 3), Vāta, the wind, in 4. 13 (RV. 10. 137), the so-called *saṁlātīya*-hymn. Hymns and stanzas addressed to the waters, often not original in the AV, are used as panaceas (1. 4—6), or against some special disease, e. g., 6. 22, which the Sūtra prescribes against dropsy. Plants are similarly appealed to in 6. 96, and especially in the long hymn 8. 7 which counts upon the virtue of all possible magic and medicinal plants (analogous to the so-called *osadho-stuti*, RV. 10. 97). Or, again, a hymn or stanza of general character is adapted as a *ḥaiśajyam*, as e. g. 7. 10 (RV. 1. 164. 49) which is prescribed for a child seized by the demon Jambha (convulsions) as it is being nursed by its mother (note the word *stana* in the st.). And there are hymns which aim to secure immunity from all diseases, real or fanciful, by simply driving them out by conjuration, naming them one after another, until the list is exhausted: 2. 33 (RV. 10. 163 = AV. 20. 96) and 9. 8 (cp. also 19. 44). We may finally note 2. 29, a charm for securing long life (*āyurja*), which Kauś 27. 9—13 employs in a practice designed to transmit the disease of one seized by thirst (*tyśnāgrhīta*) upon another person. St. 6 seems to accord with this transference, vaguely suggesting modern trans-

ROTH, Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Weda, p. 37; GROHMANN, IS IX. 85 ff.; WIL., 33 (cp. 283 ff.); WELER, Die Griechen in Indien, SPAN., 1890, p. 924 ff.; LUDWIG, Der RV., III. 343; ZIMMER, p. 374 ff. (cp. KAEGL, Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie, 1880, p. 464 ff.); BLOOMFIELD, SBL. XII, p. 1—48, and the notes corresponding; WINTERITZ, Folk-Medicine in Ancient India, Nature, vol. LVIII, p. 233 ff. (July 7, 1898).

<sup>3</sup> This definition touches upon the important division of the Atharvan into two Vedas, Atharvaṇa (*śānta*, *ḥaiśajya*), and Āṅgīrasa (*ghora*, *ābhicārika*); see above, p. 8 ff.;

SBE. NLIH, p. XVIII ff.; HILLEBRANDT, *Rind-Litteratur*, p. 169, 177. Good and evil magic are distinguished at all times, e. g., in the Mahābhārata: HOPKINS, JAOS. XIII. 312, 365. By the side of this stands the three-fold distinction of the ritualistic manuals: *śhicārika*, *śāntika*, and *śaughika*; see MADHUSŪDANASARASVATĪ, IS. I. 16; BLOOMFIELD, Seven Hymns, AJPh. VII. 477; HILLEBRANDT, *ibid.* p. 169; cp. Rig-vidhāna I. 1, 3, and MEYER, Introduction, p. XII. — 2 HILLEBRANDT, l. c. 181. Cp. MEYER, Rig-vidhāna, Introduction, p. XII. — 3 BLOOMFIELD, Seven Hymns, AJPh. VII. 467 ff.; Contributions, Second Series, AJPh. XI. 320 ff. — 4 See Vend. 20–22 (especially 20, 4; SBE. IV. 221, note); SPÜGEL, Die Atrische Periode, p. 97, 155, 170, 201; GEIGER, Civilization of the Eastern Iranians, p. 215 ff. Avestan *fāman* = Ved. *fāman* 'itch' is the apparently solitary instance of the identical nomenclature of a disease. — 5 A. KERN, KZ. XIII, pp. 49–74, and 113–157; L. v. SCHROEDER, Indien's Litteratur, p. 175 ff.; SBE. NLIH, p. 313, 386, 454; cp. FICHTER, KZ. V. 337 (antiquated). The use of the frog against fever may also reach back to prehistoric beginnings; see GROMANN, IS. IX. 386, 414; SBE. NLIH 565 ff.; JAOS. XVII. 173. — 6 AJPh. VII. 467 ff.; XI. 320 ff. — 7 HAAS, ZDMG. XXX. 617 ff.; XXXI. 647 ff.; ZIMMER, 374 ff.; WI. 2, 286 (and, Nachtrag, p. 13 ff.); L. v. SCHROEDER, l. c. 730 ff.; WEBER, SPAW, 1890, p. 924 ff. — 8 HOFFMANN, PHAS., April 1890; JBAS., 1891, p. 139 ff.; ROTH, WZKM. V. 303, BÖHLER, *ibid.* 102 ff., 302 ff.; JOLLA, Festgruss an Köln, p. 18; WZKM. XI. 164 ff. — 9 ROTH, ZDMG. XXVI. 448; WEBER, SPAW, 1890, p. 29. — 10 Connected treatises on classical Hindu Medicine: WI. 2, p. 253 ff.; v. SCHROEDER, l. c. 729 ff. The most convenient digest of Hindu Medicine based upon native literature is still, WISE, Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine, 1860 (regrettably without an index). For purposes of comparison see the list of diseases and plants (*manu medicinali*) in the index of SBE. NLIH, p. 697 and 702. — 11 WEBER, IS. IV. 119, GROMANN, IS. IX. 381 ff.; ZIMMER, p. 379 ff.; HARDY, Die Vedisch-Irischische Periode, p. 195, BLOOMFIELD, SBE. NLIH, p. 441 ff., 565 ff., cp. WISE, p. 219 ff. — 12 AJPh. VII. p. 467 ff.; SBE. NLIH 7, 246 ff. — 13 SBE. NLIH. 263 ff. — 14 SBE. NLIH. 11 ff., 241, 471, 562, and cp. Index, under 'attractio sinuum', and, 'homio-pathy'. — 15 SBE. NLIH. 233 (cp. AJPh. VII. 467). — 16 AJPh. XII. 426 ff., SBE. NLIH. 481. — 17 SBE. NLIH. 450 shows that the exact nature of *hūta* is not defined by the text — 18 WISE, p. 210, 321 ff., GROMANN, IS. IX. 400, ZIMMER, p. 376 ff. — 19 JAOS. XV. 163 ff.; SBE. NLIH. 500 ff. — 20 ZIMMER, p. 180, WISE, p. 210. — 21 Contributions, Second Series, AJPh. XI. 320 ff. (p. the commentary on these stanzas in SBE. NLIH. — 22 Contributions, Fourth Series, AJPh. 425 ff., SBE. NLIH. 489. — 23 See note 5. — 24 S: 1 with interesting variant occurs in Yaska's Nirukta 7. 4. — 25 Śhī to 5 2 20, 13 4 3 9. S 10 2 15, V 10 7 5, Chānd. Up. 7. 1, 2 ff. Cp. KY. 7 50, and, Rig-vidhāna I. 2 5, 27 1 28 1–3. — 26 SPAW 1896, p. 681–4 573–5, Iestschrift für A. BARNUM, p. 301–6. Cp. now IS. NLIH. 215. — 27 JACOB, Seven Atharva Upanishads, p. 51, 55, WEBER, IS. VII. 101 ff., DELSSEY, Sechzig Upanishads, p. 627 ff. — 28 WEBER, *ibid.* p. 107. — 29 BLOOMFIELD, Seven Hymns of the AV., AJPh. VII. 482 ff., SBE. NLIH. 511. — 30 SBE. NLIH. 374; Hymns of the AV., AJPh. VII. 482 ff., SBE. NLIH. 511. — 31 A. KERN, KZ. XIII. 49 ff., 113 ff.; WEBER, SPAW, 1890, p. 684 note, 575. — 32 A. KERN, KZ. XIII. 49 ff., 113 ff.; ZIMMER, p. 393. — 33 SBE. NLIH. 22 ff., 313 ff., cp. WISE, p. 107, 345 ff. — 34 WISE, p. 206, ZIMMER, p. 390. — 35 See the note on 111 4, SBE. NLIH. 520. Cp. IS. I. 217, note. — 36 Cp. Sauriti 1 84 19, *anābalaḥ paritā ye deśatirod adā śatābī aśvartabī uśarīrēbī uśa* (p. 1111 ff.). — 37 SBE. NLIH. 409 and 291. — 38 *Ibid.* 302. — 39 *Ibid.* 308, 310.

§ 51. Class 2). Prayers for long life and health (*ayurjāna*). — The second class of hymns to which tradition fittingly assigns the name *ayurjāna* (sc. *suktāni*)<sup>1</sup> is not separated by hard and fast lines from the medicinal charms. Thus 19. 44, though it exhibits in the main the characteristics of an *ayurjāna*, mentions specifically a considerable list of diseases, or 3. 11 which also mentions diseases is employed, Kaus. 27. 32–33, in an interesting symbolic practice directed against *grāmya vādhi*: the commentators pretty consistently explain this as venereal disease.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the *śrauti* and *grhya*-texts are found in enormous quantity formulas and stanzas which pray for life (*ayus*), life's breath (*prāṇa*, etc.), and incidentally for all other desiderata, such as *varcas*, *śānti*, *śānti*, *kīrti* (strength and glory), cattle and other property. In the forthcoming Vedic Concordance the formulas and pādas beginning alone with the words *ayus* and *āyurjāna* (*ayus*), or derivatives from

these words, number 200 or more<sup>1</sup>. The characteristic feature of such formulas, as also of the *āyusyaṇi* in the AV., is not so much prayer for the cure of disease as the eager endeavor to secure life unto the ideal old age of a hundred years<sup>4</sup> for a person, either a sacrificer, or still more frequently, a boy entering adult life through the various ceremonial stages attendant upon the development of the young Hindu from birth to confirmation (*upanayana*). Hence these hymns are employed very properly in the Atharvan ritual under the rubric of *āyusyaṇi* (sc. *karmāṇi*), beginning Kauś. 52. 18, and containing the ceremonies of tonsure (*cūḍākarmaṇ*), shearing of the beard (*godāna*), and the *upanayana*. The Gṛhya-sūtras exhibit them in much the same way on the same occasions: the Atharvan materials show little originality and frequently coincide with the mantras of the other Samhitās. A survey of one or two of these charms, e. g. 2. 28 or 3. 11, discloses at once the very familiar catch-words of the entire class: they ask for life (*āyus, jivana, asu, prāṇā-pānau*); it shall last a hundred years (*śataśārada, śatam jarimāh, śatāyus*); death shall not come until old age (*jaras, jarā, jariman, jarāmṛtyu, jarad-aṣṭi*); the charm shall protect against the regrettable large number of deaths, 100 or more (*mṛtyavo ... śatam ye, 2. 28. 1; anye mṛtyavo yān āhur itarāṇi chalam, 3. 11. 7; ekasatam, 8. 2. 27*): 101 deaths are still remembered by Susruta (Āyur-veda 1. 122. 10) as a characteristic conception of the AV, *ekottaraṇi mṛtyuśatam atharvānaḥ pracakṣate* (cp. SBE. XLII, p. 307); finally, Yama, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Nīrti, etc. are cajoled with politenesses and obeisance. Of course this technique is by no means restricted to the *āyusyaṇi*; not only is it exhibited *a fortiori* by the medicinal charms, but also the charms for prosperity in general and the witchcraft-charms naturally avail themselves of it. Yet it is unmistakably the specialty of this class: the Sūtra and the Atharvan scholiasts deserve credit for defining it schematically and presenting the employment of the hymns in question in the very situations to which they owed their composition at least in a large measure.

A noteworthy characteristic of these hymns is the special prominence of Agni, whereby hangs a bit of ancient mythological history. Agni himself is Āyu 'alive'; the personal Āyu of the myths and legends, notably Āyu, the son of Purūravas and Urvastī, is not likely ever to divulge his true nature without the same naturalistic back-ground<sup>5</sup>. Hence the *āyusya*-hymns place life in the special charge of Agni, without, of course, excluding other divinities. In the Yajus-texts, Gṛhya-sūtras, and Upaniṣads also Agni is frequently associated with life's breaths<sup>6</sup>. Typical for the AV. is 7. 53. 6, *āyur no viśvato dadhad ayam agniṣ varenāḥ*. The hymns 2. 13; 28; 29; 7. 32 and other scattered stanzas furnish illustrations of this point. Otherwise the absence of salience of these hymns is relieved only by the association with them of life-bestowing, and life-protecting amulets which are in the main truly Atharvanic. The golden amulet which the Dākṣāyaṇas, rich in the possession of gold, fastened upon Śatānika (1. 35) is such a one<sup>7</sup>; an amulet of gold is used also with 19. 26. Salve (*ahyana*) figures in 4. 9, 19. 44; 45; the pearl and its shell in 4. 10; the *pūtudru* tree in 8. 2; an amulet addressed as *astya* 'unconquered'<sup>8</sup> in 19. 46. Similarly the sacred girdle (*mekhalā*) furnishes the basis of an *ayusyam* in 6:133; and the shearing of the beard is turned into a life-giving compositum to the same end out of a variety of psycho-physical and mythological reminiscences<sup>9</sup>. The hymns 8. 1 and 2, employed Kauś. 58. 3, 11 in special ceremonies called *brāhmaṇoktam* and *ṛṣihasta* (parts of the *upanayana*), are Atharvanesque by virtue of their impassioned fervor and great length. The relationship of this type with the prose formulas of the Yajus and the

Grihyas betrays itself in the so-called hymns 2. 15—17; 5. 9; the prose formulas that go to make up 19. 51; 60; 61; 67 occur in these texts also<sup>10</sup>. The remaining *āyuga*-hymns are devoid of either mythological or antiquarian interest (1. 30; 3. 11; 5. 28; 30; 6. 41; 53; 19. 24; 27; 58; 70), and glide over imperceptibly into a style of hymn which is not strictly *āyuga*, being regarded otherwise (*paustika*: our class 8, § 57) by the Sūtra. They are in reality not different in their general purpose (1. 31; 4. 13; 6. 5; 13; 16. 4; 19. 30; 32; 33; see also the long so-called *viśisāhi*-hymn, book 17).

<sup>1</sup> See SBH. XII. 49 ff., and notes; Kauśika, Index B, p. 383<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *āyuyāni*, cp. MEYER, Rig-vidhānā, Introduction, p. xii, under the heading 'longa vita'; Svīdh. 2. 1; PG. 1. 16. 5 ff. — <sup>2</sup> SBH. XII. 341. — <sup>3</sup> We refer to the formulas of the type, *āyur m' dahi; āyuk prānam me dhukva; āyupī agne 'sy āyur me pīha, dīrgha yato'ya jātāiradāya*; etc. — <sup>4</sup> WEBER, IS. XVII. 193 ff.; Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth, p. 137. — <sup>5</sup> BERGHAUSE, La Religion Védique, I. 59 ff.; II. 91 ff.; RV. 4. 2. 18, *māritāni ad uruātir atyāvan prāhe ca ārya uparasyatyā* 'for mortals even many' Uruāth ('fire-sticks') were prepared (root *kṛp* = *llp*) unto the production of the noble *Āyu* ('fire') below'. Pūruravas and Uruāth suggest the fire-sticks; *Āyu* is their son: Vā. 5. 2; TS. 1. 3. 7. 1; 6. 3. 5. 3; MS. 1. 2. 7. 3. 9. 5; SB. 3. 4. 1. 22; KŚ. 5. 1. 30; ApŚ 7. 12. 13; Kauś 69. 20. The expression *dahavo m' samīnāh*, used by *Āyu*, MS. 1. 6. 12, refers to the many individual productions of fire, cp. the brothers of Agni. See now BROUWER, JAOS XX. 180 ff. Differently GELDER, Ved. Stud. I. 243 ff., especially 283. — <sup>6</sup> E. g. VS. 3. 17; TS. 6. 5. 3; 7. 4; SB. 2. 3. 4. 19; Sd. 2. 11. 3; Pā. 2. 4. 8, Praśna Up. 1. 7; Maitrī Up. 6. 5. 9. 33; cp. SBH. XII. 366. — <sup>7</sup> Śh. 6. 7. 4. 2, WEBER, IS. IV. 338, 430. Cp. Svīdh. 4. 9. 1. — <sup>8</sup> *āyana, atyānāmāyaman*. — <sup>9</sup> JAOS. XV. 181 ff.; SBH. XIII. 364 ff. — <sup>10</sup> Hymns 19. 60 and 61 in Pā. 5. 5. 9. 2; GB 2. 1. 3, TA (Āndhra) 10. 72; ApŚ 3. 20. 3; PG. 1. 3. 23; Vait. 3. 14. Hymn 67 frequently in the Grihya-sūtras.

§ 52. Class 3). Imprecations against demons, sorcerers, and enemies (*abhicārikāni* and *kṛtyafratīkaranāni*).—The third class of hymns is directed against demons, sorcerers, and enemies<sup>1</sup>: "between hostile human sorcerers and dangerous demons the Atharvian Hindu knows no distinction, as may be seen from 2. 18, where the *bhrātṛīya, sapatna, urdja, pīṣṭa*, and *saddurā* are successively placed under the same ban. The delimitation of this class is again somewhat uncertain and subjective. On the side of demonology it touches upon the first class, because the remedial charms are not unfrequently directed against possession by demons. In so far as it is composed of imprecations and sorceries against enemies it coincides with the royal rites (class 6, § 55) whose battle-charms assail the enemy in essentially identical terms with the imprecations of Brahmins against those that neglect and oppress them (class 7, § 56); with the love-practices of women, in so far as they are calculated to undermine rivals (class 4, § 53); and with the charms designed to secure influential position in the community and superiority in general (class 5, § 54), inasmuch as here also rivalry is expressed or implied. The present class covers however the central ground of what is known as *abhicāra* and *jāturidha* (*prakṛtya*), the terrible side (*ghera*) of this Veda. A wide-spread tradition reaching back to the Vedic hymns themselves associates this part of the Veda with the semi-divine race of the *Āngiras*: such charms are known as the *āṅgīrasa*, the second part of the old designation of the AV. (*athirāṅgīrasa*); the term *Āngīrasa-veda* also occurs<sup>2</sup>. All this in distinction from the *athirāṇa* (*Ātharvapa-veda*) which refers to the auspicious charms and practices (*bhāṣya, śānta*, and *paustika*)<sup>3</sup>. The term *abhicāra* is generic; the Atharvian and other Vedic texts know in addition *kṛtyā* 'spell', *śāṭya* 'secret spell', and *mūla-karman* (*-kṛtyā*) 'practices with the roots of plants', performances undertaken more drastically with tangible objects: magic or spells are placed or hidden in places where they may most injure. The hymn 10. 1 represents the *kṛtya*

same notion is present vividly in the conflict of sacrifices called *samsāra*, or *vispardhā*<sup>1</sup>. An especially Atharvanic flavor attaches to 7. 5 which is devoted to the extravagant praise of this same (*riharya*) hymn. The gods performed the human sacrifice (*puruṣamedha*), but mightier than that is the *riharya*-sacrifice: in vain<sup>2</sup> did they sacrifice a dog, in vain the limbs of a cow, the *riharya* alone availed them (sts. 4, 5). Very characteristic, too, is the blend of witchcraft with original theosophic conceptions in the hymn to Kāma, 'the bull that slays the enemy', 9. 2: *kāma* 'love' is originally a cosmic force (RV. 10. 129. 4 = AV. 19. 52. 1), but its personification as a supreme being suggests very soon his power to protect those who worship him, and to destroy the enemies of the worshipper (cp. below, § 59).

(The class of 'counter-witchcraft' charms (*krtyāpratiharana*)<sup>3</sup> is characterized especially by the word *prati* and derivatives and compounds from it, e. g. *pratyabhicāraṇa* 2. 11. 7; *pratisara* and *pratiscarta*, 8. 5. 1, 4; *pratyahi* and *pratīcina* 10. 1. 6. The persons against whom these defensive charms are directed are designated, 5. 31. 12, as *krtyākr̥t* 'he that fashions spells', *valagin* 'he that digs for magic purposes', *mūlin* 'he that digs after roots', and *sapa-theja* 'he that emits curses' (cp. 4. 9. 5). A good specimen of the style of these defensive charms is 10. 1. 6: 'Pratīcina ('Back-hurler'), the descendant of Aṅgiras, is our overseer and Purohita: do thou drive back (*pratīcī*) the spells, and yonder fashioners of the spells!' Two of these charms (2. 11; 8. 5) are undertaken with the *śrākyā*-amulet, derived from the *śrākyā*-tree (schol. *tilaka*)<sup>4</sup>; another (5. 14) is addressed to a plant whose name is not stated; yet another, 2. 24, names four male *kinīdin* and four female *kinīdini* with curious, at times euphemistic designations, and calls upon their sorceries to turn against themselves, that is, against the perpetrators of these sorceries. Especially forceful is 5. 31, containing a long catalogue of homely animate or inanimate objects within which spells were instituted: an unburned vessel, grain, raw meat; the cock, goat, and other animals; the *gṛhapatyā*-fire, house-fire, house, assembly-hall, gaming-place, the army, the drum, the arrow, and the weapon; the well, and the burial-place. A spell in the nature of a terrifying, evil-working figure (bug-bear, bogey, bogle, German popanz) 'endowed with nose, endowed with ears, and multiform', 'prepared by a Rāja, prepared by a woman, prepared by Brahmins', is driven out, under protestation of great loathing and fear, in 10. 1. Prose formulas similar to those enumerated, Kauś. 49. 7 ff. are banded together as hymns for the same purposes in 4. 40 and 5. 10. Curse personified is invoked against him that curses in 6. 37 and 7. 59.'

<sup>1</sup> LUDWIG, Der Rig-Veda, III. 338 ff.; BIRNELL, Samavedhāna-Brahmana, Introduction, p. XXIII ff.; MYRER, Rigvedhāna, Introduction, p. XIII ff.; HARDY, Die Vedisch-Prähistorische Periode, p. 193 ff.; OLDFERG, Die Religion des Veda, p. 262 ff.; 476 ff.; HILLEBRANDT, Ritual-Literatur, p. 167 ff.; 174 ff.; BLOOMFIELD, SBL. XLII, p. 64 ff. and notes; MACGOWAN, AJPh. N. 165 ff.; WINTERNIETZ, Witchcraft in Ancient India, New World, September 1893. — <sup>2</sup> See the elaboration of this view, SBL. XLII, p. XVIII ff. above, p. 8 ff.; cp. HILLEBRANDT, l. c. 169. — <sup>3</sup> The frequent legends in the Brahmanas, narrating the conflict between the Aṅgiras and the Adityas in connection with sacrificial performances, generally (not so AB. 6. 34 ff.) represent the Adityas as the pious, ultimately successful sacrificers, whereas the Aṅgiras appear in a light similar to the Asuras in the so called *daivajinī* (sc. *ādhya-nāni*), i. e. they are worsted in the conflict: WILBER, IS. I. 202; 187. III. 80; SPAW, 1891, p. 811 ff. This also reflects perhaps, in a roundabout way, the wizard, impious character of the Aṅgiras, and correspondingly the connection of holy rites with the Adityas. Cp. the *śuklāni yajūṣas* = *ādityāni* in the SB (WILBER, l. c. p. 812, note 2). In the Yajus-formulas, however, both Aṅgiras and Adityas are venerable: MS. 1. 6. 1 (36. 7); 1. 6. 2 (37. 3); ApS. 5. 11. 7; Kauś. 70. 6. — <sup>4</sup> See Kauśika, Introduction, p. XLV, s. v. *śrākehan* (*pratīkr̥t*), and SBL. XLII, Index, under 'effigy'. Cp. HILLEBRANDT, l. c. 177. Practices with roots are ex-

pressly forbidden in the Dharma-texts, and execrated in the Mahābhārata; SBE. XLII, p. 1, 11v (cp. above, § 26, 27). — 3 GOLDSTÜCKER, Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. *abhiśāra*; MAYER, Rig-vidhāna, Introduction, p. 13 ff.; WEBER, IS. III. 156; Verz. I. 270 ff.; II. 318, 1184; HILLEBRANDT, I. c. 177, note 1. — 6 See AV. 2. 11. 1; Kausika, Index B, s. v. *ṛtyāṣṭhāraṇām* (cp. AV. 5. 14). For *pratyāra* and *prati-  
 caria* see SBE. XLII. 576; WEBER, APAW. 1893, p. 18; for *pratyāngurāsa*, SBE. XLII, p. XIX, and above, p. 8. — 7 See SB. 14. 9. 4. 10 = Bṛh. Ār. Up. 6. 4. 12; and cp. the Garudopaniṣad. — 8 BURNELL, I. c. XXII; L. v. SCHROEDER, Indiens Litteratur, p. 121 ff. — 9 VS. 5. 23; TS. 1. 3. 2. 1; MS. 1. 2. 10; ApS. 11. 11. 8, etc. — 10 L. g. MS. 4. 7. 9 (106. 3); ApS. 14. 6. 12. — 11 See above, § 45. — 12 SPIEGEL, Die Aische Periode, p. 218 ff.; GEIGER, Civilization of the Eastern Iranians, I. 160 ff. — 13 SBE. XLII. 256. — 14 LUDWIG, Der Rig-Veda, III. 479; HENRY, Les Livres X—XII, p. 188 ff., 227 ff. Cp. SBE. XLII, Index, under 'beans' and 'sesame'. — 15 SBE. XLII. 68, 398 ff.; Contributions. Seventh Series, AJPh. XVII. 402 ff. — 16 VS. 35. 11; SB. 13. 8. 4. 4. Cp. e. g. the *apāmārga-homa* at the Kajasūya; WEBER, APAW., 1893, p. 17 ff., and the indexes to OLDFERG, Religion des Veda (*apāmārga*), and SBE. XLII ('plants and trees'). — 17 RV. 1. 174. 1, *abhiśāraṇa havīṣi*. It is not easy to decide which reading is older, as does WEBER, IS. IV. 423, note, in favor of *havīṣi*; both *manu* and *havu* are characteristically Atharvānic. See for the *havu*-hymns, below, § 60, end. The hymn is known as the *abhiśāraṇa* (sc. *sūktam*), ApS. 14. 19. 6; 20. 1; AG. 3. 12. 12; Kaus. 16. 29. — 18 See the authorities for this construction, SBE. XII. 608 ff. — 19 LUDWIG, Der Rig-Veda, III. 343, 344, 517; HENRY, Le livre VII, p. 38 ff., 109 ff. Differently, WEBER, IS. V. 247. — 20 SBE. XII, p. 88, 389 ff. — 21 Contributions. Second Series, AJPh. XI. 330 ff.; SBE. XLII. 89, 244 ff. — 22 Also *ekasūya*, Kh. 25. 14. 18. See TS. 3. 1. 7. 3; IB. 9. 4. 14; LS. 4. 10. 8. In Kaus. 38. 26 this hymn is recited secondarily but significantly by a father who is about to divide his property, so that no quarrels shall ensue. — 23 See HILLEBRANDT, Soma, p. 119 ff.; Ritual-Litteratur, p. 166; GARBE, Vāṇinī, Translation, 16. 6; 17. 7, notes. Cp. TS. 2. 4. 1—3. — 24 HENRY's emendation of *mūdhā* to *mūrdhā* (Le livre VII, p. 2, 49) thus becomes unnecessary. — 25 XII. XLII. 70—80, and the notes on the hymns there rendered. Cp. Kaus. 39. 7, and HILLEBRANDT, Ritual Litteratur, p. 178. — 26 Seven Hymns, AJPh. VII. 477 ff., SBE. XII. 575

§ 53. Class 4). Charms pertaining to women (*stri-karmāni*). — The scheme of the Atharvan ritual makes provision for a class of practices aptly designated as 'women's rites' (*stri-karmāni*) they are treated connectedly in the second half of the fourth book of Kausika (32. 28 to the end of the book). The practices there work up very intelligently a quite considerable number of hymns scattered through the first seven books of the AV. (in addition only 8. 6); these are sufficiently marked to entitle them to treatment in a class by themselves<sup>1</sup>. In the centre of these hymns stand the wedding stanzas of the *surva-sukta* (RV. 10. 85) whose superior length and importance, however, calls for a separate presentation and a separate account of the practices connected with them, in the 14<sup>th</sup> book of the AV. and the 10<sup>th</sup> book of Kausika<sup>2</sup>. The eventful life of women before, during, and after marriage has given rise to many practices and charms which are naturally ignored by the main current of Vedic tradition, the Śrauta-literature, but are fitly embodied in the Atharvan and the Gṛhya-sūtras. The RV. in addition to the wedding-stanzas (10. 85, also 10. 40, and elsewhere) has a number of such charms in the 10<sup>th</sup> book (145, 159, 162, 183); in the Śrauta-literature passages like TS. 2. 3. 9. 1; MS. 2. 3. 2, TII. 2. 3. 10 (love-charms), or SB. 14. 9. 4 = Bṛh. Ār. Up. 6. 4, devoted to women, attract attention by their rareness and comparative incompatibility with their surroundings. The Gṛhya-rites are also restricted in the main to the more normal auspicious feminine practices: wedding ceremonies, and the holy performances (*sauśkṛāsa*) connected with pregnancy and child-birth. A sorcery-practice like ApG. 3. 9. 4 ff. (Mantrapīṭha 1. 15 = RV. 10. 145 = AV. 3. 18), designed to cut out the co-wives or rivals of a woman, is rare and has quite the Atharvānic flavor. Similarly HG. 1. 14. 7; ApG. 8. 23. 3. The later Vidhāna-literature, on the other hand, repro-





assignation, working up (perhaps with secondary adaptation) a number of stanzas of RV. 7. 55.

The remaining hymns of this class belong to the calmer sphere of conjugal life. The charm 1. 18 (cp. 7. 115) aims to remove evil bodily characteristics and to drive out Arūti from a woman, apparently that she may afterwards bear offspring (st. 1<sup>d</sup>). These evil characteristics suggest those that are to be avoided when choosing a bride, in the Grhya-sūtras and Dharmasūtras<sup>10</sup>; the present hymn seems to be in the nature of a *prāyaścitta* calculated to render such a woman fit for marriage. Next come the so-called *patizadanāni*, 'charms to obtain a husband (or wife)': 2. 36; 6. 60; and 6. 82. Here the serene, auspicious gods Aryamaṇ and Bhaga figure especially: the coloring is that of the wedding-stanzas and ceremonies. Similar is the position of 6. 78, a blessing upon a married (royal) couple; of 7. 37, a stanza in which the bride says to the bridegroom: 'I envelop thee in my garment that was produced by Manu, that thou shalt be mine alone, shalt not even discourse of other women'; and 7. 36, a love-charm spoken by the bridal couple: 'The eyes of us two shine like honey, our foreheads gleam like ointment. Place me within thy heart, may one mind be in common to us!' Finally the post-marital interests of conception, child-birth, and child life are represented by a sufficient number of hymns, they are in close touch with the corresponding saṃskāras of the Grhya-sūtras, which reproduce with more or less variation a considerable number of the stanzas of these hymns. The four lunar divinities Anumatī, Rākṣ, Sinivālī, and Kūhū are invoked with great predilection; Prajāpati, Tvaṣṭar, Dhātār figure frequently. The *garbhā-dhāna* is represented by the robust epithalamium 5. 25, and by the more peculiarly Atharvanic charm 6. 81, in which a bracelet, 'a holder', called *parihasta*, is invoked to secure conception 'The bracelet that Aditi wore, when she desired a son, god Tvaṣṭar shall listen upon this woman, intending that she shall bear a son'. To obviate sterility Kauṣ. 31. 1 ff. prescribes a practice centering about AV. 1. 32, an original cosmic hymn in praise of heaven, earth, and especially the atmosphere (*antarikṣa*) the relation of the hymn to the practice is obscure. The protection of the embryo in the womb, i. e., the prevention of miscarriage, is secured by the recital of 6. 17, along with 5. 1. 1, and the hymn contained in Kauṣ. 98. 2<sup>11</sup>. The elaborate conjuration of evil demons with the greatest variety of unheard of names, 8. 6, is used, Kauṣ. 35. 20, in a rite which Kesava describes as the *śamanta-karma*<sup>12</sup>. Charms to secure the birth of a son (*pūṃsarana*) are 3. 23, 6. 11, 7. 17, and 7. 19. A clap-trap god Sūṣan, made from the root *su* 'beget' after the pattern of Pusan, is invoked in the lively hymn 1. 11 to secure safe delivery: it belongs to the sphere of the *soyautī-karma*, as it is called in the Grhya-sūtras and to the sphere of the *soyautī-karma*, as it is called in the Grhya-sūtras and elsewhere<sup>13</sup>. If the child is born under an unlucky star the expiatory charm 6. 110 is recited: 'Him that hath been born under (the constellation) *vyetha* (*gānī* 'she that slays the oldest'), or under the *zertau* (they that uproot'), *gānī* 'she that slays the oldest'), or under the root by Yama... On a tiger-skin thou (O Agni) from being torn up by the root by Yama... On a tiger-skin thou (O Agni) from being torn up by the root by Yama... Let him not slay, when he grows up, his like day the hero was born... Let him not injure the mother that hath begotten him'. Finally the appearance, perhaps the irregular appearance, of the first pair of teeth 'the two tigers' calls for the expiatory hymn, 6. 140.

<sup>1</sup> WEBER, IS. V. 177-266; ZIMMER, p. 305 ff.; SBE. XII, p. 94-110, and the notes on the hymns there treated. — <sup>2</sup> See below, § 61. — <sup>3</sup> WEBER, IS. V. 78, note; XVII. 215. — <sup>4</sup> See MEYER'S Introduction, p. XIV, XXXII. Pāṇini's statement above is probably based directly on Rg-vidhāna 3. 15. 3; the 'p' referred to is RV. 10. 83 and 84 = AV. 4. 31 and 32. — <sup>5</sup> WEBER, Vetz. I. 270 ff.; II. 318, 1184; IS. III. 156. — <sup>6</sup> WEINOLD, Die deutschen Frauen, p. 148; WEBER,

IS. V. 243. — 7 SFL. NII. 359. — 8 They are employed A1G. 3. 6. 6 and 9. — 9 See, Seven Hymns, AIIh. VII. 423-6; SFL. NII. 252 ff. — 10 AG. 1. 5; AG. 1. 5. 3 ff.; Kauś. 37. 7 ff.; GG. 2. 1. 1 ff.; A1G. 1. 3. 11; HG. 1. 19. 4 ff.; Gṛhya-sūtra 2. 21-23 (41-43); Manu 3. 4 ff.; Yājñav. 1. 52. Cp. HAN. IS. V. 258; BLOOMFIELD, ZDMG. XXXV. 573; WESTENHUT, AWAIV., 1892, vol. XI, 33 ff.; HILLBRANDT, Ritual-Literatur, p. 64. — 11 These hymns are called *garbhadrāharina*, Kauś. 35. 12; the one whose *prauka* is *agutī* (Kauś. 98. 2) is said by Dārila to be from another *Itāli* (*Itāli ntarīnāntāmī*; we may expect it in AVP. Cp. AG. 1. 21; AG. 1. 13. 1. — 12 WIEBE, 14. 5. 251 ff.; IUDOWIC, Der Rig-Veda, III. 523 ff.; HENRY, Les Livres VIII et IX, p. 17, 54 ff. — 13 See SFL. NII. 09, 242 ff.

§ 54. Class 54. Charms to secure harmony, influence in the assembly, and the like (*sāmmanasyāni*, etc.). — The present class of hymns exhibits many points of contact with the preceding, differing from it most conspicuously by the absence of the element of romantic, sexual love. The boundary between the two classes is hard to set: a conciliatory charm like 1. 34 may be, and is employed to secure the love of a person of the opposite sex (Kauś. 76. 8, 9, 79. 10), or it may be recited by one who wishes to gain the ear of the *sakha*, the village assembly (Kauś. 38. 17). Or, the hymn 6. 42 aims to appease anger without specifying the enraged person (cp. HG. 1. 15. 3); it may however have been constructed originally to end the conflict between a woman and her husband or paramour (Kauś. 36. 28-31). The later tradition harbors both classes of charms and practices within the terms *hṛdya*, *sammanana*, and *raṣikarana* (see above, § 53), blending the two in its literary presentations. The Śrauta-texts are also acquainted with practices of this sort which figure among the *kāmya śiṣṭyah*; e. g. SS. 3. 6. 1, and the so-called *mitratindā*, SS. 3. 7; AS. 2. 11; KS. 5. 12. 13. The keynote of the present class is harmony (*sammanas*, *sāmmanasya*, *saumanasa*, *samyāna*), harmony, of course, from the point of view of the person practising the charm; harmony that agrees with his personal views and desires, and leaves him in the position of arbiter and superior. The Brāhmaṇa-story of Cyavana the Bhārgava, or Aṅgrasa, vividly portrays family dissensions as a curse: 'Father fought with son, and brother with brother'. 'Then neither did mother know son, nor son mother'. Quarrels in the family (*kule kalahini*; *patraitat kulam kalahi bhavati*) are regarded as portentous, the family has been attacked by Nīrti: they require elaborate expiation. This, then, is the theme of one group of hymns in this class: the stilling of wrath and discord, and the establishment of harmony between contending persons or parties. The other group, more subjectively, aims at success, prominence, or superiority in social and political life: favor among men, influence in the assembly, success in debate, and subordination to one's will. None of these themes are entirely unknown in Vedic literature in general, but nowhere are they treated as prominently or distinctly as in the Atharvan. The RV. has two hymns of this sort, 10. 166 and 191 (cp. RV. Khila 10. 191); similar stanzas occur MS. 2. 6. 6; TB. 2. 4. 4. 4. ff.; cp. also VS. 7. 25; SB. 4. 2. 4. 23. Practices bearing upon such hymns are described Kauś. 12. 5 ff.; 38. 12 ff.; 97. 1 ff.; HG. 1. 13. 19 ff.; 15. 2 ff.; ApG. 8. 22. 19 ff.; Svidh. 2. 5; Rvidh 4. 20. 3; 24. 4.

Two hymns, 6. 42 and 43, are constructed to appease anger; the latter charm is reinforced by the use of *darbha*-grass which for the nonce wears the title 'appeaser of wrath' (*manjusamana*). They are the converse of the two hymns 4. 31 and 32 (= RV. 10. 84 and 83) in which Wrath personified is conjured to destroy enemies. Four hymns, 6. 64; 73; 74; 7. 52, allay discord, suspend strife and bloodshed. Especially fervent and picturesque is the appeal for harmony in the family, 3. 30: 'Unity of heart, and unity of

bespoke for a king, 6. 39, as also for the Brahmins themselves (6. 58; 69). And 6. 61 seems to be a piece of self glorification on the part of a king (or Brahmin): it sounds as though it were adapted from, or patterned after a hymn representing Indra engaged in self-praise; but it does not occur elsewhere. The hymns to Rohita and Rohini (book 13) are at least related to the present class; they represent this pair of divinities allegorically as king and queen (see below, § 61), and the terms in which they are exalted reflect the praise and adulation of terrestrial monarchs. The ritual connected with the royal hymns, as also the *rājasūya* in the Śrauta-texts, represents the king and his Purohita in mutual interdependence<sup>10</sup>: without successful *purohiti* there can be no sound *Asatra*. With pardonable self-consciousness, considering the temper of the time, the Purohita assumes responsibility for the king's success in 3. 19: 'Keen (sharpened) is this prayer of mine, keen my manly force and strength; keen therefore shall be the rule, and imperishable, of him whose victorious Purohita I am'. Similarly the stanza 7. 16. In humbler spirit the prose litany 5. 24 contains prayers addressed to the pantheon for success in the function of Purohita; and 19. 63 (RV. 1. 40. 1) is adapted as an exhortation addressed to a Purohita (Brahmanispati), to captivate the gods and make powerful the king (*yajamāna*).

In their extent and vigor, and in their eager exploitation of details elsewhere unknown, the war and battle charms of the Atharvan constitute also a decided peculiarity of that Veda<sup>11</sup>. The armament of weapons, snares, traps, nets<sup>12</sup>, and the stench produced by a rotten rope burned in the fire, in order to bewilder and bring to fall the enemy (8. 8), bear the earmarks of the Veda of the *ghoram*. The battle-charms appear generally in pairs, or groups of three: 1. 19 is a charm against arrow-wounds, followed by 1. 20 and 21, battle-charms in general. The group 6. 65—67 is of similar import; in the first two the words *nirhasta* and *nairhasta* figure prominently handless the scheming enemy shall be, his arms shall be broken. Still other groups are 3. 1, 2, battle songs addressed to Agni to confuse the enemy, 4. 31, 32 (RV. 10. 84, 83) addressed to Manyu, 'Wrath', as the victorious spirit of battle (cp. 6. 65); 6. 97—99, prayers of the king to Agni, Indra, &c. upon the eve of battle; 6. 103—104 charms to paralyse the enemy (*samdāna*, *adāna*). Especially fierce and prolonged is the attack upon the foe undertaken with 11. 9 and 10, addressed to the battle demons Arbuda, Nyarbuda, and Trisamdhi, who are regarded as allies of Indra. The god Trisamdhi, 'Three-joints', is evidently a personification of the three pointed bolt of Indra (11. 10.3); Arbuda and Nyarbuda are pretty certainly derived from the myth of the demon Arbuda, the cloud-serpent, whom Indra slays. Nyarbuda seems to owe its intrinsically meaningless prefix *ny* to verbal juxtapositions such as, *ny arbudam vācādhano astah*, RV. 2. 11. 20<sup>13</sup>. HENRY regards Arbuda as originally a mythic double of Indra; we may preferably suppose that the friendly relation of Indra and these secondary precipitates from Arbuda are due to a later view of Arbuda and Nyarbuda as serpent-gods who are by these very terms auspicious. The earlier import of the myth has passed out of sight<sup>14</sup>. Another pair of hymns, 5. 20 and 21, representing the better grade of Atharvanic literary endeavor, are addressed to the battle-drum, the terror of the enemy: 'When the wife of the enemy hears the voice of the drum that speaks to a far distance, may she, starting up at the sound, distressed, snatch her child to her arms and run, frightened at the clash of arms'. Cp also 6. 126 (RV. 6. 47. 29—31). Still other specialties are dealt with in 19. 20, the prayer of a king while putting on his armor (cp. the st. 7. 118 = RV. 6. 75. 18); in 6. 125 (RV. 6. 47. 26—28) and 7. 3, prayers of a king as he mounts his

war-chariot. Finally there belong to this class the Atharvan version of the famous *apratiratha-sūkta*, 19. 13 (RV. 10. 103), and the hymns more vaguely redolent of war, 6. 13; 7. 86; 91; 92; 93; 108; and 110.

<sup>1</sup> See above, § 26, SBE. XLII, p. XL note, 11 — <sup>2</sup> Above, § 33; SBE. XLII, p. XLII, 1. 11 ff. — <sup>3</sup> WEIER, SPAW., 1891, p. 753-7; APAW., 1893, p. 4. 23 note, 143; BLOOMFIELD, SBE. XLII, p. XLII, above, p. 10. — <sup>4</sup> SBE. XLII, p. LV, 1. 11 ff.; above, § 26-28. — <sup>5</sup> SBE. XLII, p. 111-133; cp. WEIER, IS. X. 26 ff.; LUDWIG, Der Rig-Veda, III, 248 ff.; ZIMMER, p. 158 ff. Cp. the *viśvasāyāturgā*-hymns, Kauś., p. 290, note 7. — <sup>6</sup> Cp. also the Pāṇisṭa like *mitramaheta*, Kauś. 140; Ath. Pāṇi 19 (Kauś. 13, introd. p. XXVI). — <sup>7</sup> See § 26 ff.; SBE. XLII, p. XLII, 1. 11. — <sup>8</sup> WEIER, Rājasaṃyā (APAW., 1893), Index, under 'aylung', and 'gerfell'. — <sup>9</sup> See RV. 10. 173, and cp. LUDWIG, *ibid.*, p. 230; ZIMMER, 162 ff.; SBE. XLII, 331. — <sup>10</sup> KARL. 17. 6, 7; WEIER, Rājasaṃyā (APAW., 1893), p. 4. 140-143. — <sup>11</sup> The Kṛuṣka designates the battle charms as *sāṃgrāṃikāni* (14. 7); special varieties are known as *apānodanāni* (14. 14) and *śukānāni* (14. 17). The Gāṇḍārī, Ath. Pāṇi. 34. 13, presents in the *apratirathā gora* a similar collection. Cp. Friedl. 3. 6, and the terms *mōlara* and *śenulāhara* in Pāṇini texts; WEIER, Verz. I. 270; II. 1184. — <sup>12</sup> Cp. the *indragāhā* in WEIER, Verz. I. 270, with AY. S. S. 5-8. — <sup>13</sup> Cp. also RV. 2. 31. 6; 2. 14. 4; 8. 32. 3. — <sup>14</sup> SBE. XLII, 631 ff., HARVY, Les Livres X, XI, et XII, p. 164 ff.

§ 56. Class 7). Prayers and imprecations in the interest of Brahmins. — The claims and prerogatives of the Brahmins<sup>1</sup> have reached in the AV. their highest pitch, excepting that the hyperbolic amounts of live stock and other property, reputed to have been given them as *dakṣiṇa* in the *dānastuti*, *nardarīṇyoh*, and the incidental reports of the Brāhmi-literature, is restricted within more reasonable bounds in the numerous *dakṣiṇa*-hymns of the AV. The Brahmins bestow upon themselves freely the epithet *deva* 'god', which is after all perhaps, at least in the beginning, nothing more than a bit of awkward logic, derived from the perception that the sacrifice and the priestly reward (*miti-fārṇa*) are both sanctified acts which therefore must each address themselves to a divine being. They are further fully conscious of being in charge by virtue of their function as Purohitas of the sovereignty of kings and the safety of countries, in addition, all blessings of the private folk flow from the Brahmins as the middle men between the human race and the gods. The social and economic conditions of the Brāhmanas in the AV. are very much the same as those elicited from statements in the Brāhmi-literature such as have been gathered by WEIER in his 'Collectanea on the Caste', IS. X. 1-160. Especially pronounced is their claim of 'inviolability' (*ayajātā, atathātā*) and the still exorbitant demand of *dakṣiṇa*, moderate as it seems compared with the fees of the *dānastuti*. The Atharvanic element appears in the former class in the shape of imprecations, fierce beyond anything known elsewhere in the literature: oppression and murder of Brahmins is the sin against the holy ghost. The hymns describing the beheading of *dakṣiṇa* are quite unique: the performances are treated, sometimes at great length, as independent sacrificial acts delineated with the most painstaking detail; they are correlated with all that is holy or mystic in nature and theosophic speculation (*brahman*). This is one of the marked specialties of these hymns: when a goat (*śaṅ*) is the *first deva* of a *dakṣiṇa* it is both goat and the divine *Ma* Dasyād; when a steer, it is both sacrificial animal and divine steer (*śaradāṅ*). Thus it is difficult in individual cases to decide whether a theosophic chain — often a jumble — of statements has been applied to the *dakṣiṇa*, or whether the *dakṣiṇa* is the original theme, being merely decked out with the familiar mock profundities of the *śaṅ*.

The inviolability of Brahmins and their belongings is the subject of four of the most striking hymns of the AV. (5. 17-19, 12. 51). The first of these

occurs fragmentarily in RV. 10. 109, which presents only 7 stanzas, but occurs in a position in the RV. redaction pointing to a fuller version of 11 sts., perhaps identical with the first 11 sts. of AV. The last 7 sts. of AV. may therefore, as also for intrinsic reasons, be regarded as later than the first 11. The entire hymn is an imprecation against the violator of the wife of a Brahman: kings or arrogant nobles (sts 3, 10) seem to be the culprits in the mind of the poet. Even king Somā ceded his mythical prerogative as the first husband of every woman in favor of the Brahmans, the gods themselves conducted the wedding ceremonies. Woe betide the king and country where a Brahman's spouse is injured. Prosperity vanishes, children are not born, portentous occurrences terrify the people. The other three hymns<sup>7</sup> are directed against the oppressors of Brahmans, especially against those that rob (withhold) their cattle<sup>8</sup>: 'That kingdom verily she (the cow) swamps, as water a leaking ship; misfortune smites that kingdom in which they injure a Brāhmaṇa. The trees chase away with the words: "do not come within our shade", him that covets the wealth that belongs to a Brāhmaṇa, O Nārada' (5. 19. 8, 9). The vials of the Brahman's wrath are not thus emptied; fiercely they consign their oppressor to death, accentuating their theme by suggestive references to the harrowing details of the funeral-practices: 'The *kūḍi*-plant that wipes away the track (of death)<sup>9</sup>, which they fasten to the dead, that very one, O oppressor of Brahmans, the gods did declare thy couch' . . . 'The water with which they bathe the dead, with which they moisten his beard, that very water, O oppressor of Brahmans, the gods did assign to thee as thy share of water' (5. 19. 12, 11).

On the positive side the Brahmans assert the importance and power of the *gurohiti* (3. 19; 5. 24, 7. 16, 19. 63, above, p. 75). But above all the AV., as almost every other phase of Vedic literature<sup>10</sup>, pleads not at all shame-facedly but with the wholesome courage of its convictions for the perquisites of the Brahmans. The *dānastuti* which narrates fabulous feats of giving, doubtless by way of stimulus to future givers, is to be sure almost entirely absent<sup>11</sup>. In this matter the attitude of the Atharvan is rather prescriptive or didactic than quasi-historical. Or, the witchery of magic formula and prayer is applied, to exorcise avarice and conjure liberality. The pretty hymn 5. 7, addressed to the demon 'Grudge' (*aridhī*) exiles her, though she be 'golden-complexioned, lovely, resting upon golden cushions', quite an *Apsaras* or 'schoene Teufelinnē' in her fascinations, to go away. Instead, 'him whom I implore with Vāc Śrāvatu (holy speech), the yoke-fellow of thought, Śraīdhā (faith that expresses itself in works, so in *dakṣiṇā*) shall find to-day, bestowed by the brown Soma' (st 5)<sup>12</sup>. The same result is craved in the following rather plaintive ejaculation, showing that even a Brahman might be *χρηστος* τῆς εἰς τὸν κατὰ στυγερὰν πῆραν<sup>13</sup>. 'What king, desirous of more possessions, will get us out of this wretched misery? Who is desirous of sacrifice, and who of (getting the heavenly reward of) presents (to the Brahmans)? Who seeks for long life from the gods?' (7. 103; cp. 7. 104)<sup>14</sup>. Within this sphere belongs also 5. 11, a conversation between Varuṇa and Atharvan (the typical priest) about a wonderful cow bestowed by the former upon the latter. Varuṇa tries to take it back, but is induced by Atharvan to desist<sup>15</sup>. Aside from the regular *dakṣiṇā* the thrifty Brahmans stood ready to gather in all sorts of odds and ends. Thus the birth of twin-calves (3. 28), contrary to modern superstition which regards animals born in pairs as auspicious, is made to appear as a portentous occurrence requiring expiation, part of which consists in making over 'the growling and cross cow that injureth the cattle' to the Brahmans<sup>16</sup>. A cow which after a certain time is

discovered to be sterile (*śatā*) is viewed in a similar light: the long anuṣṭubh-hymn 12.4 recounts in picturesque language, accompanied by fierce threats, urgent reasons for passing her on to the Brahmins whom nothing hurts. But the brunt of the Atharvan's activity in this line is directed towards the composition of elaborate hymns which are obviously intended to accompany the bestowal of substantial *dakṣiṇās*, and, what is more singular, to elevate the ceremonies connected therewith to the position of independent sacral acts of great formality and dignity. These *dakṣiṇās* are designated by Kāuṣika as *sarā* (*sarāṁ dā* 'to give *sarā*s') — the word *sarā* in this sense does not occur in the text of the Saṃhitā; see, however, RV. 1. 126. 1. The Śrauta-texts are acquainted with *sarās* which are accounted as forms of the *ekāha*; they are solemn consecrations (*abhiṣeka*) for special ceremonies of considerable variety<sup>12</sup>. TB. 2. 7 recounts seven of these, one being styled *odanasarā* (2.7.7), performed by an *annadyakāma*: Kāuṣika specializes this idea altogether in the direction of the bestowal of *dakṣiṇā*, devoting to his *sarās* the entire eighth adhyāya. Two versions of the *sarās* are there presented, one 60—66, the other in the nature of a Parivṛta, 67—68. Both the sacrificer and his wife (*patnī*) participate in the ceremonious details of these performances as *kartārau*; special utensils (*sarīkāḥ saṃbhārāḥ*, 67. 1) are employed. Keśava, p. 364, summarizes these *sarās*, stating their number as 22. The most pronounced type of these appears in the two hymns 11. 1 and 12.3 which Keśava designates respectively as *brahmaudana* and *svargaudana*. They represent the stanzas chanted at a solemn combination of a soma-sacrifice with the preparation of porridge for the Brahmins' *dakṣiṇā*. Presents of gold and clothes 11. 1, 28; 12.3.51) are also hinted at; nevertheless there is something real and homely about these performances in which the wife takes part, and which are spoken of (11.1.19) as a practice of long standing in the family: 'Grandfathers, fathers, children, grandchildren — I am the fifteenth that did cook thee (O porridge)' They are far removed from the suspicious bluster of the *danastuti*. Allied to these is 11.3, an allegoric liturgic exaltation of the *edana*, in Brāhman-prose: in st. 50 ff. the porridge is assimilated to the sun. A goat (*aṣṭa*, assimilated, as a matter of course, to *Aja* Ekapād), garnished with five *edanas* (*aṣṭa pakṣaudana*) is the subject of 9.5 (cp. 4.14); a cow, accompanied by a hundred *edanas* (*śataudana*), similarly correlated with the pantheistic heavenly cow, is bestowed in 10.9. An *edana* whose main motive is escape from death (*ati tarāri mṛtyum*)<sup>13</sup> is dealt with in 4.35; another, prepared with succulent sauces and called *visfarin* 'spreader', is described in mystic cosmogonic language as conducive to happiness in the other world. And 6.123 also represents explicitly the doctrine that presents to the Brahmins are a treasure laid up in heaven. Many of these *sarās* centre around an animal: 10.10 a *śatā*; 9.4 an *rakṣa*, assimilated to the various celestial bulls (Rohita, Indra, Tvaṣṭar, etc.); 4.11 (adapted secondarily) an *anadān*; 7.27, corrupt and unintelligible formulas occurring elsewhere<sup>14</sup>, a *go-sarā*; 6.31, a hymn to the rising sun (*gauri śrīṇik*), a *śrīṇi-sarā*; 3.29.1—6 an *ari-sarā*, followed in st. 7, 8 by a *prajakṛita* to expiate for its acceptance (IS. 10.55); 6.30.1, in praise of grain (*śata*) mixed with honey, is called *paṇḍitaśa madhuraśa* (Kauś. 66.15). Keśava's list of 22 *sarās* exhibits yet other hymns and stanzas recited, at times quite secondarily, in connection with *dakṣiṇā*: e.g. 1.31, a prayer to the regions of space (*śāśik*) for health and prosperity, at a *śatāśarā-sarā* (Kauś. 64.1). Decidedly the most interesting of all these *dakṣiṇā* is depicted in 9.3 (*śatāśarā*): a house is gradually taken apart, like a living thing it is handled very gingerly during the process; then it is made over to the Brahman who receives it with solemn

prayers for his own future well-being in it, and finally takes it to his own place of residence<sup>19</sup>. Of importance also is the distinct presence of the notion, more or less like those of the Dharmaśāstras etc., that the gift of water to Brahmans, either independently, or as part of a more substantial *dakṣiṇā*, is a holy act: 6. 122 (10. 9. 27; 11. 1. 17, 27)<sup>20</sup>. The occasional squeamishness of the Brahmans which arises from the feeling that they are too much 'on the make', or are receiving improper gifts, gains expression in the expiatory prayer 6. 71, or in the formulas 3. 29. 7, 8; cp WEBER's collections, IS. 10. 55 ff.

The chapter of the greed and self-assertion of the Brahmans is relieved considerably here, as throughout Brahmanical literature, by opposite currents of thought and feeling. The redemptory note of their character is their consciousness of *noblesse oblige*. A Brahman must be well-regarded among men and therefore well-qualified for his holy office. Two prayers (6. 58 and 69) signalize their craving for the esteem of men<sup>21</sup>. To gain this end they must be wise, illumined, spiritually pure, firmly rooted in holy learning. Very properly then the famous hymn *ahaṃ rudrābhīr*, in praise of Vāc, 4. 30 (RV. 10. 125), even in modern times one of the mainstays of the *saṃnyāsin*, is employed in a rite to beget wisdom, or at the study of the Vedas<sup>22</sup>. More directly 6. 108 (cp. RVKh. 10. 151) is an explicit prayer for *brahma* 'spiritual'; 19. 4 for *akūti* 'perception'; 19. 41—43 are prayers for *brahma* 'spiritual elevation', and *dīkṣā* 'consecration'; and 19. 64 is a prayer for wisdom and other more worldly advantages on the part of a Brahmacārin as he builds the fire. Related with these, though of a more general character, are three prayers for purification, 6. 19, 51; and 62. Devotion to Vedic learning<sup>23</sup> is at the base of such compositions as 7. 105 and 19. 68, stanzas introductory to the teaching of the Veda, 7. 54 and 7. 61, prayers for success in the study of the Veda; 7. 66 and 67, prayers for regaining holy learning, and 19. 71, the praise of the *gāyatrī*<sup>24</sup>. Cp. also the very late matter 19. 21—23 (§ 37, note 14). The opening hymn of the Saṃhitā (1. 1) is a prayer to Vācaspati, the 'lord of speech', for comprehension and retention of the *śruti*, the holy learning following in the Saṃhitā: 'the thrice seven (sounds or syllables) wearing all forms, their powers the lord of speech shall make mine to day'<sup>25</sup>. A similar stanza at the end of book 19 (72) contains a blessing at the conclusion of this Veda, confirming the theory of the late and secondary character of book 20 (§ 35).

<sup>1</sup> SBL. XII 169—198, and the notes thereto, cp WEBER, IS. N. 1 ff; 110. WIG, Der Rig-Veda, III. 268 ff, ZIMMER, 108 ff, 195 ff — \* V. 3. 3. 26; 6. 13. 1; 58. 2; 11. 1. 23; 12. 3. 38 cp WEBER, IS. 10. 35 ff; above, p. 3 — J. WEBER, I c, p. 60 ff; ZIMMER, 197 ff — \* WEBER, I, p. 53; S. 11. 1891, p. 771, below § 63, end — \* AV. 4. 11; cp JACOB, Concordance to the Upanishads, s. v. *andah*. — \* OLDENBERG, Die Hymnen des Rig-Veda, p. 240 ff — \* 7. 1. 1 of 5. 19 occurs with variants JB. 1. 152, the hymn 12. 5 is mixed prose and quasi-poetry. Cp. Svīd. 1. 6 — \* Hence 5. 18 and 19 are designated as *brahmaṇi*, Kauś. 48. 13 ff — \* ROTH, Festguss an Bohtlingk, p. 98—99, quotes a similar Hellenic custom from Antoninus Liberalis 23, cp. SBL. XII 436 — \* Cp. RV. 1. 125. 4—7; and S. 31 — \* Excepting the *nārājanī*-stanzas of the *Antya*-hymn 20. 127—130 — \* SBL. XII 172, 423 ff; BLOOMFIELD, AJPh. XVII 411. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. L. 423 ff. The title hymn 7. 57 seems also a charm to secure another sphere — \* BLOOMFIELD, AJPh. XVII 408 ff — \* ROTH, Abhandlung, p. 1; MUR, OST. II. 395; cp. AV. 7. 104 — \* Kauś. 109—111 — \* Pet. lex., s. v. *sat*; S. Index, s. v. *sat*; HILFERD, Ritual-Literatur, p. 140. — \* Kauś. 49. 1; Svīd. 1. 6. 2; 3. 1. 4; Kauś. 66. 14; Valt. 13. 8. — \* SBL. XII 193 ff, 593 ff. — \* Cp. Manu 3. 244; 4. 229; 6. 71. 9. 168, 186; Śārida 3. 41; Sakuntalā, śloka 153 (ed. BOHTLINGK). — \* This is the domain of *śāris* and *brahmanas*, IS. N.





(RV. 7. 27. 3); Agni: in 7. 82 and 19. 3 (TB. 1. 2. 1. 21 ff.); Agni Vaiśvānara in 6. 35, and 36 (AS. 8. 11. 4; SS. 10. 9. 17; SV. 2. 1058—60); Savitar in 6. 1 (AS. 8. 1. 18), 7. 14 (SV. 1. 464 ff.), and 7. 15 (MS. 2. 10. 6); Uṣas in 19. 12 (RV. 10. 172. 4, and 6. 17. 15); Sarasvatī in 7. 68 (MS. 4. 12. 6); Sarasvant in 7. 40 (TS. 3. 1. 11. 3); the divine eagle in 7. 39 (RV. 1. 164. 52); Tārksya Ariṣṭanemi in 7. 85 (RV. 10. 178. 1); the *devapatiṣah* in 7. 49 (RV. 5. 46. 7, 8). Especially the personified phases of the moon, *amāvasya*, *ṣauramāsī*, *darśa* (7. 79—81), and the female genii of these phases, *Anumati* (7. 20), *Smivālī* (7. 46), *Kuhū* (7. 47), *Rākā* (7. 48)<sup>20</sup>, are implored for wealth and, especially, offspring; the very late hymns 19. 7, 8 engage the favor of the constellations (*nakṣatra*)<sup>21</sup>; finally the hymn 3. 10 to *Ekāṣṭakā*, a personified lunar day near the beginning of the year<sup>22</sup>, viewed as the wife, or epitomized equivalent of the year, is implored to make the year prosperous.

The hymns designed to ward off calamity and danger exhibit many points of contact with the charms against witchcraft, as well as with the battle-charms, sorcery and war being conspicuous sources of danger. Of these the most notable are the group 4. 23—29, known as the *mṛgārāṇi*, or *mṛgāra-sūktāni*<sup>23</sup>. They were obviously compiled by the Atharvanist for purification and against misfortune: the refrain contains throughout the expression *muc amhasah* 'release from misfortune'. The hymns are a curious expansion of the so-called *mrgareṣṭi* of the Yajus-texts<sup>24</sup>, to which they are unquestionably secondary (see § 45). The first and the last stanzas of most of these hymns are derived from the Yajus; the intervening stanzas are padding. Only 4. 28 does not seem to occur in the Yajus at all; the theme, prayer to Bhava and Sarva, marks it as Atharvanic by distinction (cp. 11. 2): these 'gods were not to be omitted from such an appeal to the pantheon. Note also the contents: *kṛtyākr̥t* and *mūlākr̥t* in st. 6, *kimidin* in st. 7. Very similar to the *mṛgārāṇi*, and having the same refrain, is 11. 6, a prayer for deliverance from calamity, addressed to the pantheon, the clear and fairly complete list of divinities, very much on the plan of the Yajus-texts, imparts to the hymn its chief interest; cp. also 1. 26, 6. 3, 4, 7; 7. 112. The divinity to whom this class of prayers is addressed most frequently is Rudra (Śiva-Agni), under the large variety of names of embodiments (*mūrti*) customary with that divinity<sup>25</sup>. In addition to 4. 28 the long prayer 11. 2, to Bhava and Sarva, two of the embodiments of Rudra, is conspicuous for its intensity; cp. also 6. 93 and 7. 87. Other divinities and personifications are occasionally appealed to individually: Agni Śāntapana in 6. 76, personified Death by weapons wielded by Brahmins (*dava*), Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, etc. in 6. 13<sup>26</sup>; Soma, the slayer of demons, in 6. 7; Aditi, the universe, and therefore the universal protector, in 7. 6 (cp. 7. 7); Night, the protector against the robbers, wild animals, and demons that infest her, in the late hymns 19. 47—49 (cp. RV. 10. 127); and the shallow though characteristic personifications Viśvajit, Trāyamaṇa, Kalyāṇi, and Sarva in the prose-formulas 6. 107. In the manner of the *mṛgāra*-hymns, which accentuate the idea of release from calamity (*muc amhasah*)<sup>27</sup>, other hymns employ other catch-words to gain similar results: the word *abhaya* 'freedom from danger'<sup>28</sup> is the keynote of 6. 40; 19. 14 and 15 (followed by similar trashy matter in 19. 17—19); the hymn 4. 33 (RV. 1. 97, et al.) with its refrain, *apa nah śotucad agham*, the so-called *apāgha*-hymn<sup>29</sup>, figures as a matter of course; the prose-formulas 5. 10 harp upon the word *aimavarma* 'protection firm as stone', being exploited practically in that sense Kaus. 5. 14<sup>30</sup>. Finally there is to be mentioned the singular charm 1. 27 in which danger is warded off by an amulet made from the skin of a moulting serpent, the serpents in this condition symbolizing the powerless enemy. The amulet is homeopathic,

as it were<sup>31</sup>. The hymns to the waters (see § 50, end), though very general in character, are also in close touch with this class.

<sup>1</sup> See the list of the *kāmyā istayāḥ* in WFFER's edition of the TS, vol II, p. 343; OLDENBERG, SBL. XXX, p. 303 ff., 306. Cp. MEYER, Rig-vidhāna, Introd., p. XII; Svidh. 3. 1 ff. — <sup>2</sup> Cp. HILFBRANDT, Ritual-Literatur, p. 169. — <sup>3</sup> SBL. XII, p. 140—162, and the notes on these hymns. — <sup>4</sup> See OLDENBERG's citations, SBL. XXX, p. 303, bottom; cp. HILFBRANDT, l. c., p. 80 — <sup>5</sup> JAOS. XVI. 12 ff.; cp. COLFBUROOK, Essays I. 319. — <sup>6</sup> Contributions Second Series, AJPh. XI 342 ff.; SBL. XII, p. 147, 514 ff. — <sup>7</sup> SBL. XIII, p. 146, 348 ff. — <sup>8</sup> HILFBRANDT, GGA., 1889, p. 406; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. XVII. 173 ff. Cp. RV. 7. 101—105; 10. 98, and the hymns to Parjanya in general — <sup>9</sup> SBL. XIII, p. 150, 413 — <sup>10</sup> DRLERÜCK, Gurupūjakaumudī, p. 48 — <sup>11</sup> WFFER, SPAW., 1892, p. 788; BLOOMFIELD, SBL. XIII, p. 508 — <sup>12</sup> Cp. Kauś. 15. 12; 18. 27: the hymn is especially related to ApS. 16. 18. 7 ff. — <sup>13</sup> A number of these stanzas occur in the Grhya-sūtras and ApS. elsewhere; cp. in general Kauś. 89. 12 — <sup>14</sup> Seven Hymns, AJPh. VII 484 ff.; SBL. XIII, p. 160, 532 ff. — <sup>15</sup> Cp. the so-called *varjāṅti*, TS. 5. 5. 10 1—5; MS. 2. 13 21; ApMh. 2. 17. WFFER, IS. XVII. 291 ff. — <sup>16</sup> WFFER, IS. I. 292; BERGAUGE, La Religion Védique, II. 451—2, 498; SBL. XIII. 152, 605 ff. — <sup>17</sup> RV. 10. 17. 6, 5, and 6 54. 9. 10. — <sup>18</sup> LUDWIG, Der Rig-Veda, III 371; HILFBRANDT, Ritual-Literatur, p. 114 — <sup>19</sup> See § 54, note 8 — <sup>20</sup> Cp. Kauś. 1. 29, 30; GB. 2. 1. 10. — <sup>21</sup> Nakṣatralakṣa 10 presents them in full, not by pratika, showing that these pieces did not figure in the Śaunakīya-Samhitā at the time of the compilation of the Nakṣatralakṣa — <sup>22</sup> WFFER, IS. XVII 218 ff.; HILFBRANDT, Ritual-Literatur, p. 91 — <sup>23</sup> Kauś. 9. 1; 27. 34; cp. also 32. 27, note. The word *mṛga* seems to be from *māṣ* 'pusify', but that is not certain. Cp. the *mṛgāra-vrata*, Kēś. to Kauś. 42. 12 ff.; Ath. Paddh. to Kauś. 57. 32 — <sup>24</sup> TS. 4. 7. 15, MS. 3. 16. 5; cp. IS. III 395. — <sup>25</sup> Most of the others appear in the hymn incidentally; cp. SBL. XIII 618. — <sup>26</sup> Closely related, of course, to the battle-charms, and employed in that function, Kauś. 14. 25; 15. 6. — <sup>27</sup> See Kauśika, Index B, under, *amhalingāḥ* (p. 383) — <sup>28</sup> See *ibid.* — <sup>29</sup> See *ibid.* — <sup>30</sup> Read, *svatī sū* 'sary with Rū. for *svatī sū* sary in Kauś.; cp. the parallel formulas Kauś. 49. 7 ff. — <sup>31</sup> WFFER, IS. IV. 421; cp. SBL. XIII, Index, under 'homoeopathy'.

§ 58. Class 9). Charms in expiation of sin and defilement (*prāyaścittāni*). — The Hindu conceptions of sin are very complex. Not only is sin an individual, conscious act in violation of the laws of the gods and the universe, but it exists as an independent morbid substance or entity which may fasten itself upon man without his conscious participation, or at least without his choice or sanction. In this sense sin or evil, *enas*, *pāpman*, etc., assume the character of an almost physical deficiency or disease. Sin, too, is transferable from man to man, from father to son, yea from gods to men; the sin of the gods plays no mean part in endangering the peace of men: e g. in G. 111. 3 manā is produced by sins of the gods. He who is seized by sin (*pāpmaghāta*) is deprived of his strength by Indra and held captive in Varuna's toils (TS. 2. 3. 13). Personal defects and mishaps, evil dreams, aspersion of one's character, ominous and portentous occurrences in the sphere within which one lives, or in nature about one, and, *a fortiori*, irregularities and mishaps in the course of religious ceremonies are conceived as closely allied, and confluent with sin and personal offences; they all require expiation, correction, or cure: *prāyaścitta* or *prāyaścitta*<sup>1</sup>. Neither of these words occur in the RV., the former only once in AV. 14. 1. 30, but they are common throughout the mantra-literature<sup>2</sup>. They are expiatory stanzas are common throughout the Srauta-texts in connection with faults in the sacrifice<sup>3</sup>, or in the *kāmyā istayāḥ* of persons attacked by sin, calumny, and misfortune<sup>4</sup>; in the extensive sections on *prāyaścitta* in the *dharma*-texts; in the Grhya-sūtras, where they are not very common<sup>5</sup>; and in the Vidhāna-texts<sup>6</sup>. A special variety of *prāyaścitta*, namely those connected with omens and portents (*adbhūta*), has passed through a somewhat independent development, so as to assume the character of a special and extensive class

of literature; the most notable compositions of this sort are the 13<sup>th</sup> book of the Kausika and the so-called Adbhuta-Brāhmaṇa (§B. 5)<sup>8</sup>.

More than 40 hymns of the AV. are devoted to this class of subjects<sup>9</sup>, quite a considerable part of them covering a single tract, 6. 110—121. It is worthy of note that these hymns, with the exception of 6. 114 and perhaps also 19. 59, do not expressly deal with *prāyaścittas* for defects in the sacrifice. The late Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa in whose view the fourth priest at a Vedic sacrifice, the so-called Brahman, must be an Atharvavedin, repeatedly assigns to him *ex officio* the correction of blunders in the ritual, the *sandhāna* of what is *virijṣa*<sup>10</sup>. Nevertheless *prāyaścitta*-mantras that pertain directly to the events of the ritual, such as those of Vait. 12. 8, 9; GB. 1. 2. 7, are presented by these texts in *sakalapātha*, and do not occur in the Saṃhitā, which in this as in all other respects touches but lightly upon the sphere of the *śrauta*-practices, although it does not fail entirely to take cognizance of them (see below § 60). That ritualistic *prāyaścitta* became later very prominent in the Atharvan schools we may gather from the existence of the unpublished six *prāyaścitta*-chapters of the Vaitāna<sup>11</sup>. The largest number of these hymns address themselves in general terms to the expiation and consequent release from sin, frequently cataloguing a variety of misdemeanors, but not specifying what particular one it is that burdens the conscience; identical or similar stanzas frequently recur in the other Saṃhitās, most especially in TA. 2. 3—6. Thus 6. 45 (cp. RV. 10. 164) is in expiation of mental delinquency (*manas-pāpa*), 6. 26 is directed against *pāpman*, 'evil', personified as a 'thousand-eyed immortal'; 6. 115 against sin, this time called *enas*; 6. 119 and 120 are prayers to Agni Vaisvānara for remission of sins and ultimate paradise; 6. 121 aims at release from Varuṇa's fetters of sin. Three of these hymns 6. 117—119 harp upon the word *ṛpa* 'debt', carrying with it the notion of debts incurred, but not paid, especially 6. 118, addressed to the two Apsaras suggests gambling-debts. Another, 6. 116, exhibits a conscience afflicted by the sin of sorcery-practice, *yady āmaṃ cakrur nikhānantaḥ*<sup>12</sup>. The boundary-line between sin and misfortune (*nirṛti*) is evanescent: hymns like 6. 63 and 84 do not differ much in spirit and diction from the preceding. Similarly curses from the outside and sin are correlated in 7. 65 and 112, and the rather obscure stanza 7. 43, rubricated Kaus. 46. 1 in a practice to avert calumnious accusation, may also be of this sort. Also the general purificatory charms, 6. 19; 51; and 62 (above § 56, end), contain certain touches of expression which ally them to this sphere. Frequently, on the other hand, the fault requiring *prāyaścitta* is stated more or less clearly: 6. 114 seems to be an expiatory formula to correct imperfections in the sacrifice (cp. 19. 59); 7. 106 is a prayer to Agni to forgive sins due to forgetfulness (in religious matters); 19. 40 seems to be the *prāyaścitta* of one consecrated for the soma-sacrifice (*dikṣita*) who has committed a disturbing fault (anger); 7. 66 and 67 seem to be prayers for regaining one's holy learning (*brāhmaṇam*), perhaps after it has been lost through some sin; 7. 102 is a *prāyaścitta* for urinating while standing erect, addressed to the offended deities (μῆν' ἄν' ἱερίου τερπάρμενος; ἐρῶδ' ἐμυζέιν, Hes. Erga, v. 727); cp. 13. 1. 56. The obscure mixture compositum, 6. 49, is recited Kaus. 46. 14 by a Brahmacārin at the death of his teacher, whereas ApS. 14. 29. 3 puts the first two stanzas in the mouth of a *dikṣita* who has fallen from grace (*yady dikṣito 'vakird*)<sup>13</sup>. That the receipt of gifts by the Brahmins is occasionally looked upon as an act requiring penance (3. 29. 7, 8; 6. 71; 7. 57) has been shown above (§ 56). Related with these last is 2. 35 (TS. 3. 2. 8. 3; MS. 2. 3. 8), an expiatory hymn recited to atone for the sin of depriving them that are justly

entitled to it of their share of food. Thus in TS. at the *sattrā*, when all participants are entitled to *dakṣiṇā*, but do not receive it<sup>14</sup>. See the stanza about the *kevaladin* whose food is in vain (*mogham annam*, TB. 2. 8. 8. 3), or sinful (*agha*, Manu 3. 118). In Kauś. 38. 22 the hymn is recited by one who eats alone in company, in defence against the evil eye of those that do not participate. The slaughter of cattle is constantly looked at askant by the Hindus; hence every bloody sacrifice is overlaid with the fiction that the proper execution of the animal can be performed without injury to it, and even with its consent<sup>15</sup>. The hymn 2. 34 is in the nature of an atonement for a sacrifice in which the victim is conceived as in reality ransomed from death, and following the sinless sacrificer to heaven<sup>16</sup>. One of the greatest crimes of ancient India, affecting both injurer and injured, is the precedence of the younger brother before the older on various solemn occasions in life, especially in the matter of marriage (*pari vid*). Two hymns, 6. 112 and 113, atone for this sort of sin, which, like sundry others, is looked upon as having originated with the gods who 'wiped it off' on their scape-goat, the god *Trita*, by whom it was in turn passed on to men<sup>17</sup>.

But, as stated before, the notion of expiation extends also to circumstances inherent or accidental which cannot and do not involve personal responsibility. Here expiation assumes the character of cure or correction of inauspicious conditions and accidents, naturally broaching upon the domain of *bhṛāja* 'cure'<sup>18</sup>. The conception of the goddess *Nirṛti* 'misfortune' (6. 63 and 84) is founded largely upon these ideas<sup>19</sup>. Thus 7. 115 is a charm for the removal of evil characteristics (*pāpī lakṣmī*) and the acquisition of auspicious ones (*puṇyā lakṣmī*), cp. 1. 18. The puzzling composite stanzas 6. 30. 2, 3 are prescribed, Kauś. 31. 1, for one whose hair has been cut by a *śamī* and one who has evil characteristics (*samudunapapalaksanayoh*). St 2 seems to allude to drunkenness which might cover the ground of *papalaksana*, or the *śamī* would then appear in some way responsible for drunkenness, or perhaps merely the drunken dishevelled appearance of him whose hair has been cut with an instrument of *śamī*. St. 3 seems to be addressed to such an instrument, used for hair cutting. It is implored not to harm the hair, in the manner in which the razor (*śūra*) is elsewhere addressed (8. 2. 17). The juxtaposition of the two sts. may be merely redactional, due to the occurrence of *śamī* and *śūra* in each their metres are different<sup>20</sup>. Atonement for personal mishaps is the motive also of 6. 110, a *prajānta* for a child born under an unlucky star, and 6. 140 for the irregular appearance of the first pair of teeth (see § 53, end). Again the birth of twins or the appearance of a sterile cow in the herd (3. 28, 12. 4) require their own peculiar atonements (§ 56): they belong to the domain of *adehuta* (omens and portents). Of this sort also are the so-called *śakuna*, charms against pigeons, owls, and other black birds whose appearance or contact forebodes evil, or defiles 6. 27—29 (RV. 10. 165), and 7. 64<sup>21</sup>; and similarly 6. 124, recited by one who has been struck ominously from above (water from heaven, or fruit from a tree), cp. TS. 3. 1. 1. 2. Finally there belong here the charms against evil dreams, or nightmares, 6. 46; 7. 23, 100, 101, 16 5ff.; 19. 56, 57, as also sundry stanzas (e. g. 10. 3. 3) scattered throughout the *Sūhitā*<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> SHR. XLII. 59. 82, 293, 520, 521, 551, 604. — 2 SPENZLER, On the Hindu doctrine of expiation, Proc. Second International Congress of Orientalists, p. 22 f.; BERNILL, *Sāṃvādhinābrahmanā*, p. 22; HARNY, *Vedisch-Brahmanische Periode*, p. 153; OLMSTED, *Religion des Veda*, p. 115 ff.; KOSOW, *Sāṃvādhinābrahmanā*, p. 41; JOLLY, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 115 ff.; HILDEBRANDT, *Relig. Literatur*, p. 160. — 3 L. S. RV. 7. 84. 5; 10. 164. 3; AS. 20. 14—16; TS. 3. 3. 8. 1; MS. 4. 14. 17; TB. 2. 4. 4. 8; and especially the mantras connected with the so-called

*kūṣmāṇḍahoma*, TA. 2. 3—6 These *kūṣmāṇḍa* are used later to an enormous extent, especially in the *dharma* texts; e. g. *Vas Dh.* 22. 9; *Vi.* Dh. 86. 22; *Gaut Dh.* 19. 12; *Baudh. Dh.* 3. 10. 10; *Manu* 8. 106; *Yājñav.* 3. 304; *Laghu Attri Dh.* 2. 4; *Vyḍḍha-Attri Dh.* 3. 11; *Vyḍḍha-Harita Dh.* 8. 270, etc., cp. *MG.* 2. 14. 27. — 4 See the references, HILLFBRANDT, I. c. — 5 Cp. e. g. the *śāpmanā śphālasyeṣṭi*, TS. 2. 3. 13; the *abhiṣṭisti*, TS. 2. 2. 5. 1; the *śajjāzubbhṛasṭi*, TS. 2. 3. 3. 1—2. — 6 See OLDENBERG, SBE. XXX. 307, for the citations. — 7 *Rig-vidhāna*, MFYER'S Introduction, p. XIII; under *śūnṭh*; *Svidh.* 1. 2 ff. — 8 WEBER, *Omina und Portenta*, APAW, 1859; HATFIELD, *The Ausanasādhutāni*, JAO'S XV. 207 ff. (with bibliographical notices in the foot-note on p. 208, and parallels from classical sources on p. 220); HILLFBRANDT, *ibid.* p. 182. — 9 SBE. XLII. 163—168, and the notes on these hymns; LUDWIG, *Der Rig-Veda*, III. 442 ff. — 10 1. 1. 14, 15, 22, etc. Cp. M. MÜLLER, *HASL.* p. 450; BLOOMFIELD, SBE. XLII. p. LXXI; cp. below, § 67 end, and ff. — 11 See GARDNER, in the preface to the edition of the text, p. 5; WEBER, *Verz.* II. 83; *Kausika*, Introduction, p. xxxiii. These chapters are probably identical with the *Yajñaprayascittasūtra*, called *Vaitāyana*, EGGFLING, *Catalogue*, nr. 367; cp. HILLFBRANDT, *Ritual-Literatur*, p. 36, note, 1; and above, p. 16. — 12 The *padapāṭha* erroneously, *yād yāmāni* etc. (there is no oxytonic *yāmā*); the passage means, 'if they have made a spell of an unburned (vessel) digging it down'. See 5. 31. 1, and cp. SBE. XLII. 457. — 13 Cp. PG. 3. 12. — 14 *yātanto vai sadāyās it sarve dakṣiṇyās, itbhyo ya dal'pāmāni na payed aubhyo vṛjeyta, yād vaiivakarmānāni juhōti sadāyān e a tat pṛthivī* (cp. LUDWIG, *Der Rig-Veda*, V. 601). — 15 Contributions. Sixth Series, ZDMG. XI. VIII. 556. — 16 ROTII, *Abhandlung*, p. 14; WEBER, IS. XIII. 207; LUDWIG, *ibid.* III. 433. Cp. the similar hymn AVP. = *Voit.* 10. 17 (GB. 1. 1. 12). — 17 Contributions. Seventh Series, AJPh XVII. 430 ff.; SBE. XLII. 164, 521 ff. — 18 Cp. *Darila* to *Kaus* 3. 1 (note 8). — 19 Cp. the *nīrākarmāni*, *Kaus* 18. — 20 LUDWIG, *ibid.* III. 512; ZAMER, 60, 274; and FLORINZ, *Bl.* XII. 288, do not throw light upon the situation. — 21 *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa* 6 and 8 (SB. 5. 6, 8); cp. HULTZCH, *Prolegomena zu des Vasantarāja Śākuna*; SBE. XLII. 474. — 22 See *Kaus*, Index II, p. 384., s. v. *duḥkṛtapaṇāśanāni*; SBE. XLII. 484, and, Index, p. 697, under 'dreams'; *Rig-vidhāna*, Introduction, p. XIII (*unfausta sonnia*).

§ 59. Class 10). Cosmogonic and theosophic hymns.—The presence in the AV. of a considerable number of cosmogonic-theosophic hymns<sup>1</sup>, marking in a way the extreme distance from the ordinary witchcraft-formula, is not readily explained. The common village-practitioner is not likely to have had much use for them, and even the Purohita in his ordinary offices in the *rājakarmāṇi* might well have dispensed with them. Though they occur for the most part, barring the opening-hymns of several of the first books (2. 1; 4. 1, 2; 5. 1, 2; 7. 1, 2)<sup>2</sup>, in the books 8—19, yet there is no reason to regard them as late on the whole. Their greater length excluded them from the first seven books, in accordance with the requirements of the redactors. But it is not saying too much that some of them at least, say the *Dirgha-tamas brahmodya*, 9. 9 and 10 (RV. 1. 164), were adopted at a time when the adherents of the *atharvāṇaḥ* and *anigirasāḥ* had coquetted for some time with the notion that their true place in the Vedic economy was the *brahma* as a whole, in distinction from the individual Vedic types of the *trayī* within which there was for them no place. In other words, that consciousness which later led to the name *Brahma-Veda* for the Atharvan is likely to have been to a certain extent a stimulus productive of just such compositions as would tend to strengthen this consciousness still further<sup>3</sup>. But it would be a mistake to suppose that theosophic speculation is foreign to the Atharvan, and inorganic; or, that all hymns of this sort are loosely attached to the main body of its compositions. On the contrary, there is evidence that theosophic ideas and formulas had to some extent worked their way into the very tissue of its composition. The charm 4. 19 with the *apāmārga*-plant has for its sixth stanza: 'Non-being (*asat*) arose from the earth; that goes to heaven, (*as*) a great expansion. Thence, verily, that, spreading vapours, shall turn against the performer (of spells)!' The hymn 9. 2 presents in an ordinary witchcraft charm a personalized god *Kāma* as a destroyer of enemies, not very different

from Agni; yet this Kāma is not to be separated entirely from that *kāma* which is the 'first seed (product) of the mind' that came from 'the one', after it had sprung into existence through creative fervor (*tapas*): RV. 10.129.4 (cp. AV. 19.52)<sup>4</sup>. Even more intricate is the blend of theosophic conceptions and material purposes in the hymns to Rohita (book 13): in the third hymn of this book the sun-principle is exalted in the best theosophic diction, often in the very formulas characteristic of this style, but the refrain exhibits the hymn in the service of the doctrine of the inviolability (*ajeyatā*) of the Brahmins: Rohita is here the wrathful god who punishes the persecutors of Brahmins (*yo brahmāṇaṃ jināti*); they are the theme and object of his displeasure and wrath (*āgar, āvāḍiḥ*)<sup>5</sup>. Or, the first part of the first hymn (13. 1. 1—35) correlates consciously with obvious puns the terrestrial Rohita, i.e. the king, with the divine Rohita; the king and his queen (*mahīṣī*) are exalted allegorically to the position of Rohita and his female Rohini: the fusion of the two is so thorough-going that it is at times difficult to decide which, the king or the god, is in the mind of the versifier<sup>6</sup>. The attentive reader of the Atharvan will frequently encounter this transition from philosophy to sophistry: philosophical ideas gone to seed, half decomposed, mixed and coagulated, bandied about and transferred in the relentless desire to produce some magic effect, or to exalt some divinity or ritualistic object far beyond its proper sphere (e.g. 7. 20. 6; 18. 4. 5, 19. 32. 9). The most notable medium for the culture of these false and excessive philosophemata are, as has been hinted above (§ 56), the numerous *dakṣiṇā* or *sava*-hymns. Every animal offered as *dakṣiṇā* is both itself and a cosmic power of the first rank: the gift of a goat, *aṣṭa* (4. 14; 9. 5) introduces Aja Ekapād with his mystic punning attributes; in 9. 4 a bull (*ṛsabha*) is exalted beyond bounds, 'he carries all forms in his body', 'he was at the beginning of things the counterpart of the waters' (sts. 1, 2); but after all it is naught but an ordinary sacrificial bull. Similarly the devoted *raśā*, 10. 10, provokes metaphysical disquisitions so fleeting, disjointed, and unsteady, that it is a relief to reassure one's self with the aid of st. 1 that, it is after all a cow with hoofs and a tail. Here and there, as e.g. in hymn 4. 11, to the steer (*anadīan*), doubt remains as to whether we are facing a theosophical hymn, or a *sava* (Kaus. 66. 12). Similarly, but even more boldly name, because unsupported by any kind of prior naturalistic conceptions, the *brahmaudana*, the porridge cooked for the Brahmins, is made the vehicle of theosophy (4. 34 and 35 (p. 113. 21), the *brahmaudana* is partly identified with the 'Ding an sich', or the supreme creative and sustaining principle (4. 35. 3. 5). Within this sphere of conceptions arose the famous hymn 11. 7, to the *uśhiṣa*, the leavings of the *brahmaudana*<sup>7</sup>, with its momentary symbolic transfer of the highest divine or pantheistic attributes to an intrinsically most trivial ritualistic circumstance. It is well to remember that another high sphere of thought, the ethical, has similarly been pressed into the service of ordinary concerns: the noble hymn to Varuṇ, 4. 16, apparently quite original in the AV., is in reality a witchcraft charm, betraying its purpose in the gross curse at the end — *in cauda ventum*.

In general this class of hymns in the AV. is not devoid of a certain kind of originality and independence which isolates them to a considerable extent from the theosophic mantras of the RV. and the other Samhitās, as well as from the speculations of the Upaniṣads. It is not saying too much that the Atharvan hymns are characterized by an even greater degree of garishness, unsteadiness, and gaucherie; of mock-profundity, and impotent reaching out after the inexpressible, than the corresponding hymns of the RV. To this is to be added a growing mechanicalness in the handling of

these ideas: the important theosophic attributes are taken out of pigeon-holes, as it were, and applied to the particular subject in hand, not without syncretism and awkward muddling. Occasionally the whole trick is to substitute one name for another: one and the same pāda and stanza is predicated in effect to different subjects of speculation. Cp. e. g. the Rohita-stanzas, AV. 13. 1. 45—55 with the Puruṣa-hymn, RV. 10. 90 = AV. 19. 6; or the even more literal equation, AV. 4. 11. 1 = 10. 7. 35. And these subjects have increased in number and variety. The AV. shares with the RV. the *brahmodya*-stanzas of Dirghatamas, 9. 9, 10 (RV. 1. 164), which present in the form of theological charades the doctrine of the essential oneness of the universe, of its laws, and also of the nature of the sacrifice; the division of the stanzas into two hymns corresponds in general with the division of the subject matter: the second part (AV. 9. 10 = RV. 1. 164. 23 ff.) deals more directly with the relation of the sacrifice and its attributes (metres, priests, holy speech) to the universal order, whereas the first part deals with the manifestations of the universal one in the universe. The *puruṣa* hymn, RV. 10. 90, reappears here, AV. 19. 6 (as also in other texts), with some variations that ease the sense, and point to later handling<sup>8</sup>. Two independent Atharvan-hymns (10. 2; 11. 8) owe their origin at least in part to suggestions derived from the *puruṣa-sūkta*: 10. 2 is a mystic meditation, in the form of question (*ka*), of the origin, form, parts of the body, and biological character of the *puruṣa*, the primeval cosmic man, who is, of course, described in the terms of the natural man. The questions introducing the stem *ka* allude to Prajāpati-Brahman, and assimilate the hymn furthermore to the famous *hiraṇyagarbha-sūkta*, RV. 10. 121, of which the AV. also presents a poor version, 4. 2. Another even more mystic derivation of *puruṣa* in his double cosmic and human aspect is contained in 11. 8, the *puruṣa* is derived from a cosmic marriage in the manner of the wedding-hymn (*sūrya-sūkta*, AV. 14 = RV. 10. 85), but all the parties concerned are psychological and religious forces: Manyu ('Will') leads Ākāśi ('Intellect') from the house of Samkalpa ('Determination'); Tapas and Karman are the wooers, Brahman the wooer-in chief. It is a kind of a soul-marriage: Manyu is identified further on with ten psycho-physical forces, *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *cakṣuḥ*, *śrotram*, etc., and it is they that produce the *puruṣa*. Thus in reality Brahman and the psychic and religious forces connected with him express themselves in the soul-life of the *puruṣa*. On the other hand the Vedic gods, Indra, Agni, and even Bṛhaspati, occupy a very subordinate position, being regarded (st. 10) as 'children', each born out of himself, Indra from Indra, Agni from Agni, etc., Devas from Devas; to them the world is made over. The hymn seems to postulate distinctly enough the identity of soul (*ātman*) with *brahma*, clearly expressed in the Upaniṣads, though the word *ātman* does not occur in it<sup>9</sup>. The conception of the *ātman* appears also in the hymn to Prāṇa (11. 4), life or breath personified as the supreme spirit; and the two peculiarly abstract and involved hymns to Skambha 'Support' (10. 7 and 8), which seem to reach out after an even more subtle formulation of the last cause of things than that contained in Puruṣa or Brahman, wind up after all in sts. 10. 8. 43, 44 with a statement that presents the knowledge of Brahman and Ātman as the highest goal<sup>10</sup>. Related with this hymn is the *brahmodya* 5. 1. The *brahma*, prayer (Veda), as supreme principle, is modulated in the greatest variety of keys: in 4. 1 it appears in its own neuter character as 'the first born *brahma* begotten of yore', but passés over quickly (st. 2) into the related conception of Vāc 'speech', i. e. holy speech embodied in the Veda, and in this form it is represented especially by the hymn to Vāc, 4. 30 (RV. 10. 125), and in the *brahmodya*-stanzas 7. 1. The enigmatic *brahmodya*-

hymn 8. 9, addressed to Virāj, has also in mind Vāc Virāj (9. 2. 5); in startling language st. 7 asserts the paradox, 'they call Virāj (female) the father of Brahma'. She in turn acts as the creative principle, her two calves (sun and moon) came forth from the waters (st. 1). The following piece, 8. 10, recites in Brāhmaṇa-prose the curious migrations and metamorphoses of Virāj, posited as the first principle (*virāḥ rā idam agra āsit*); the pervasive quality of Virāj (holy speech) culminates in the truly Atharvanic anticlimax at the end of the hymn, 30—33, which betrays the bathos and specious mysticism of both hymns (9 and 10): they are an intellectual exercise preparatory to counter-witchcraft; if one merely says, 'in my mind do I repel sorcery', he does (by that mere statement) repel it. The conception of prayer or holy knowledge as the spiritual light that causes and reveals, the world gradually roots itself within more concrete individual facts and entities of the universe.

\* Thus st. 7 of the above-mentioned hymn 4. 1, from its Atharvanic point of view, passes the *brahma* on to its typical priest, the Atharvan (Bṛhaspati), who henceforth takes the place, or is intimately associated with Brahma, Prajāpati, and the creative principle: AV. 7. 2<sup>11</sup>. This is in reality the Atharvanic version of the change of *brahma* to *brāhmī*. But especially the dominant power of the visible world, the sun, is blended so inextricably with the conception of the *brahma*, beginning with the famous gīyatrī stanza, RV. 3. 62. 10<sup>12</sup>, as to justify the statement that there is scarcely any theosophic hymn which does not more or less distinctly, primarily or secondarily, have in mind the great heavenly body.



as a bull, steer, or cow; the bestowal of such animals as *daśinā* (*sava*) especially elicits this animal-symbolism; to such an extent is this true, that the victim is animal and pantheistic-monotheistic divinity at the same time. Thus the bull, *ṛṣabha*, in 9. 4 is assimilated in turn to the various celestial bulls, Rohita, Indra, Tvaṣṭar etc.; or 9. 7, a pantheistic meditation in Brāhmaṇa-prose, compares each limb or part of the bull senselessly with a divinity or cosmic force. \* The *sava* of a steer (*anadvān*, 4. 11) furnishes occasion with equal facility to make the steer the exponent of the same sublime conditions as the very much more abstract Skambha; cp. 4. 11. 1 with 10. 7. 35 (see above). The gift of a goat, *ajā* (4. 14; 9. 5), finds in the divine Aja Ekapād a convenient peg to fasten theosophic disquisitions upon. And finally when occasion arises for the bestowal of the female *vasā* (p. 87) it requires but little more sophistry and oddity to make her the wife of Parjanya, the guardian of heaven and earth (12. 4. 4, 6). We have seen above that the purely ritualistic *brahmaudana* and especially its leavings (*uchīṣṭa*) also appear in the light of the universal pantheistic force: we may suspect this to be an extension of the treatment of the animal-*savas*. To the same sphere of conceptions, but more liturgic in tone, is 9. 6, in praise of the mystic merits of hospitality (*arghya*); the details of its acts are compared with a sacrifice in which the host (*atithipati*) as sacrificer (*yajamāna*) virtually accomplishes a sacrifice, providing he understands the mystic purport of his own acts. /

In striking contrast with the vigorous though peculiar development of theosophic speculations in the AV. is its barrenness on the side of purely mythological fancy. The RV. deals with the gods of nature as the theme of its poetry: the Atharvan cultivates the more homely genii like Aryaman, Anumati, etc., or substitutes demonology. The character of the leading divinities of the RV, Agni, Indra, Sūrya, is scarcely developed at all, barring the undoubtedly popular advance of that fusion of Agni with Rudra in the direction which finally produces the god Śiva<sup>16</sup>. The hymns and stanzas addressed to the mythological gods are in the main borrowed from outside sources; thus when we encounter the long Indra-hymn, 5. 2, it is in reality RV. 10. 120 (employed as a battle-charm, Kauś. 15. 1), or the still longer hymn to Agni, 8. 3 (RV. 10. 87), is addressed to Agni in the character of Rakṣas-killer. Like a fresh breath of wind upon the sultry atmosphere of both demonology and theosophy comes the singular and exceptional hymn 12. 1, addressed to Goddess Earth. This is one of the most attractive compositions of the AV., rising at times to poetic conception of no mean merit, and comparatively free from the stock-artificialities of the Vedic poets. The relation of the real visible earth to man, animals, and plants preponderates wholesomely over the remoter mythological and mystic conceptions<sup>17</sup>. Somewhat in the same vein, though decidedly inferior, is 9. 1, the so-called *madhusūkta*, a hymn to the 'honey-lash' of the Aśvins (*madhukāśa*). The mythic or realistic background of the honey-lash may possibly be 'the honey (the heavenly water) that lashes', or the lightning which whips the clouds and produces rain. The hymn symbolizes prosperity in its widest aspect (*varcasya*)<sup>18</sup>. The cosmic hymn 1. 32, dealing in praise of the physical atmosphere (*antarikṣa*), also deserves mention in this connection.

\* Cp. the interesting 'repertory of the theosophic hymns of the AV. in the Cēhāḍ Up. 11 ff; and see, MÖLLER, *HAV.* p. 556 ff.; MEIER, *OST.* V. 350 ff.; LUDWIG, *Der Rig-Veda*, III. 393 ff.; SCHERMAK, *Philosophische Hymnen*, p. 44-88; v. SCHROEDER, *Indien's Litteratur*, p. 79 ff.; HARDY, *Vedisch-Brahmanische Periode*, p. 207 ff.; DRISSEN, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. I, part 1, p. 200 ff.; BLOOMFIELD, *SEL.* XLII, p. 199-232, and the notes to these hymns. See also the translations of nearly all these hymns in HENRY, *Les Livres VIII et IX de l'AV.*

Les livres IX, X, et XI de l'AV.; and Les Hymnes Rohitas (livre XIII). — 2 See on this point § 37. — 3 Cp. above § 33. — 4 SBL. XII ff. 591. — 5 See above, § 56; cp. DRUSSEN, p. 216. — 6 BLOOMFIELD, Contributions. Fourth Series, AJPh. XII 430 ff. — 7 Cp. TH. 1. 1. 9. 1; MS. 2. 1. 12. — 8 Cp. DRUSSEN, p. 150. — 9 The hymn is unquestionably very late and paradoxical, but it is not therefore necessary to assume with DEISSSEN (p. 270) that its author deals disrespectfully with earlier traditions, except in the sense in which all theosophic speculations attach inferior importance to all divinities and religious acts, except the search after and knowledge of the fundamental cause, the one being. — 10 Cp. DEISSSEN, p. 310 ff. — 11 Cp. GB. 1. 1. 4 ff.; Mundaka Up. 1. 1. 2; Nyāsa Up. 1. — 12 'The light of Savitar which impels our holy thought'. Cp. RĪGVEDALĀLA MITRA in the introduction to the GB, p. 24. — 13 See WIEBER, IS. XIII. 129; LUDWIG, l. c. III. 393; SCHIRMANN, p. 82; DEISSSEN, p. 252 ff. HILFBRANDT, Somi, p. 322 ff., regards *veda* as the moon. — 14 MUIR, OST. V. 395; HENRY, Les Hymnes Rohitas; BLOOMFIELD, AJPh. XII. 429 ff.; DRUSSEN, p. 213 ff. — 15 SBL. XLII. 214, 626 ff.; HENRY, Les livres X, XI, et XII, p. 114, 150 ff.; DRUSSEN, p. 277. The *tristya*-sections, book 15, exalt an outcast, or vagabond, who has however entered into the Brahmanical life, as the supreme being (Brahma); see § 61. — 16 See especially AV. 4. 25 and 11. 2; as the supreme being (Brahma); see § 61. — 17 LUDWIG, l. c. III. 544 ff.; SBL. XLII. 199, 639; HENRY, l. c. 179, 215 ff. — 18 HENRY, Les livres VIII et IX, p. 81, 115 ff.; SBL. XLII, p. 229, 587 ff.

§ 60. Class 11. Ritualistic and general hymns. — The question arises whether the AV. contains hymns which owe their presence in the collection from the start to the existence of Atharvanic Śrauta-rites. Since the Śrauta-manual of the AV., the Vaitāna-sūtra, is late<sup>1</sup>, the appearance in it of many hymns of the Saunakiya-śikhā is non-significant and otiose. The Vait. rubricates practically the entire 20<sup>th</sup> book of the AV., but this is itself a late Śrauta-supplement to the collection, proving nothing for its original scope and intention<sup>2</sup>. In addition the Vait. employs many scattered hymns and stanzas, especially of the sixth and seventh books, in a manner more or less befitting its own subject matter, and frequently coincident with the employment of the same kind of stanzas in other Śrauta-works. But, as it happens, the same stanzas are as a rule worked up in the Kausika as well; they may therefore owe their presence in the AV. originally to circumstances and practices such as the Kausika has in mind, the Vait. may have later taken them up anew in a sense suitable to its own sphere of activity. The inner content of a hymn or stanza is under these circumstances not calculated to decide as to the original intention of the diśkeuasis: a secondary employment of a hymn in Kaus. may be chronologically anterior to the more primary in Vait., providing we trust, as we well may, the author of the Vait. with a sufficient knowledge of the habits of the Śrauta-practices to recognize the obvious and correct applicability of such hymns to Śrauta-practices. Thus the hymn 6.1, a seemingly inferior version of AS 8.1.18, is an evening-song to Savitar, rubricated three times, Kaus. 23. 2, 50. 13, 59. 25: its employment in all three places is secondary and very general. Notwithstanding this, and granting its intrinsic Śrauta-character in more or less close correspondence with its employment at Vait. 17. 2, there is no proof that it was originally incorporated into the AV. in its capacity as a Śrauta-hymn: some such use as is manifested in one or the other of its occurrences in Kausika may have been the original one with the Atharvavedins, or its employment both in Kaus. and Vait. may be different from and secondary to the original intention.

Recognizing these cautionary circumstances we may nevertheless say outright that the AV. is acquainted with pretty much the entire sphere of Śrauta-rites<sup>3</sup>, and, what is more important, that some of its hymns cannot be imagined have been composed or absorbed from other Vedic sources without direct reference to practices which are ordinarily treated in the Śrauta-manuals. Thus the rudiments at least of the *agnisūma*, possibly in some simpler form

than that exhibited by the *śaṭpa*-works of the *trayī*, are represented by 6. 47 and 48. The first of these is not mentioned in Kauś. at all, but appears altogether suitably in connection with the three *sarāṇas*, Vait. 21. 7. These stanzas, probably not original with the AV., can hardly have been absorbed in the redaction except for the reason that they were at that time in vogue at the three *sarāṇas*, as practiced by adherents of the AV. The second of these hymns (6. 48) consists of Vajus formulas differing more or less from the corresponding formulas of the Śrauta-texts<sup>4</sup>; it is quoted in Kauś. 56. 4; 59. 26, 27 under circumstances that betray unmistakably its secondary employment. Here also by the very force of their contents it seems unlikely that they owe their Atharvanic composition to anything else than the *sarāṇas*. The Vait. employs them accordingly, 17. 10; 21. 7, and that too in the order of the three sts. demanded by their context and the parallel formulas: in this instance the ritualistic tradition surpasses that of the Śaṃhitā, either reaching behind it, or correcting it by superior information<sup>5</sup>. Again, the loosely attached st. 7. 76. 6 (RV. 6. 47. 6), addressed to Indra at the *mādhyandina-sarāṇa*, is not mentioned in Kauś., whereas it appears in a proper place, Vait. 16. 14. Add to this the familiarity with the *sarāṇas* betrayed by incidental allusions, such as in 9. 1. 11—13 (cp. also 7. 72. 3), or the elaborate invitations to Indra to partake of soma. 2. 5, 6 (cp. also 7. 58 and 117), and it is not too much to say that the Atharvans knew and practised soma-rites prior to the redaction of the *Samhitā*. Whether this was carried on in the spirit and with the equipment of the Vedic schools of the *trayī*, or in some more elementary form that did, above all, not require a variety of priests, can hardly be discerned<sup>6</sup>. The same kind of enquiry is suggested by the two *apṛī* hymns, 5. 12 (RV. 10. 110, et al.) and 5. 27 (VS. 27. 11 ff.; MS. 2. 12. 6;

1. 4—6; 33; 6. 23; 7. 89; 16. 1; 19. 2; 69; and especially the long composite rigmarole, 10. 5. Cp. the *apām sūktāni*, Kausika, Index B, p. 383; the *salilāni*, ib. 385; and the *gāna*, Kaus. 41. 14.

A special ritualistic flavor attaches to a considerable number of hymns of varying import all of which state distinctly that they are accompanied by an oblation, or *havis*. This *havis* is preceded by an adjective or noun which expresses tersely the purpose of the hymn. Thus 1. 15; 2. 26; and 19. 1 are accompanied by *samsrārya havis* 'that causes the flowing together of wealth'; 6. 39 by *yaśo havis* 'that confers glory'; 6. 40 by *saptarṣṇam havis* 'oblation to the Seven Rishis (that frees from danger)'; 6. 64 by *saṁāna havis* 'that makes harmonious'; 6. 65 (and 66) by *nairhastha havis* 'that makes (the enemy) handless'; 6. 75 by *nairbadhya havis* 'that suppresses (the enemy)'; 6. 78 by *bhūta havis* 'that produces power'; 6. 80 by *śuno divyasya mahas havis* 'that contains the majesty of the heavenly dog', 6. 87 (and 88); 7. 94 by *dhruva havis* 'that makes stable'; cp. also the less clearly defined *havis* in 1. 31; 6. 41; 7. 70; 77; the *guhya ghṛta* in 7. 29, and the *pratṛāsa ājya* in 5. 21. 2. Once, in 1. 29. 1, the AV. substitutes characteristically *abhīvarta mani* for *abhīvarta havis*, RV. 10. 174. 1. The RV. mentions such special *havis* in hymns of Atharvanic character: *rathavāhana havis* in 6. 75. 8; *dhruva havis* in 10. 173. 6 (AV. 7. 94). LUDWIG, who first invited attention to this feature and its peculiar development in the AV.,<sup>1</sup> fitly describes it as a 'teilmotiv' for a special purpose: it may be defined further by describing it as the hymnal correspondent of the *lāmyā iśṭayāḥ* of the Śrauta-literature. In the course of other practices a special libation for a purpose, aside perhaps from the main action, might be naturally introduced. Since this action bore upon matters of ordinary life it insinuated itself more particularly into the prayers and performances of the Ātharvans, assuming there a more independent and technical form.

<sup>1</sup> GARBE, *Vaiṣṇava Sūtra*, Preface, p. vii, footnote 12, JAOS XI 375 ff.; HILF-BRANDT, *Ritual-Literatur*, p. 35. — <sup>2</sup> See below, § 62. — <sup>3</sup> The *sautramantī* is mentioned in 3. 3. 2, an almost exhaustive catalogue of sacrifices and liturgical terms is presented in 11. 5. 5 ff. — <sup>4</sup> JAOS, XV 3. 4 — <sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 5, note — <sup>6</sup> The *trijavāna-vrata* mentioned in the late Atharvanic manual, Ath. Paddh. to Kaus. 57. 32, is not likely to bear directly upon this sacrifice, cp. B&W x v, and HILF-BRANDT, *Ritual-Literatur*, p. 58. — <sup>7</sup> The Gll. regularly substitutes an Atharvanic tetrad or pentad in such cases. 1. 1. 17, 20, 29, 2. 10, 24, 3. 21, etc., AV. 2. 19—23, Kaus. 119. 2, 3. — <sup>8</sup> RV. 1. 23. 21—24, 1. 1. 1 — <sup>9</sup> Der Rig-Veda, III 371 ff.; cp. SBL. XII, in the notes on these hymns, especially p. 479, 496, and 500.

• § 61. Class 12). The books dealing with individual themes (books 13—18). — The six books 13—18 are devoted to special themes. Book 13 contains four long hymns addressed to a form of the sun-god, called Rohita 'the Red', with constant puns on the root *roh*, as though, 'he that has been led up (to the sky)', his female Rohini (Sūryī, Uṣas).<sup>1</sup> figures also. Rohita is not merely the heavenly body or its divinity, but he is swelled out by means of theosophic notions, so as to appear as the creator and preserver of the universe, a form of Prajāpati. A considerable part of the book, however, is either not connected with the main theme at all, or exhibits the main theme in secondary application.<sup>2</sup> The first 35 sts. of the first hymn, apparently the main stock of the entire book, correlate Rohita with an earthly king whose kingdom is given him, and whose kingdom is preserved by Rohita. Sts. 36—44 are a mystic presentation of the wonders connected with the appearance and disappearance of the sun; sts. 45—55 present Rohita (sun, fire) as a Rishi who kindles with his prayers the two

sacrificial fires, winter and summer, upon which the life of nature is founded. The remaining sts. of this hymn are even more extraneous. The second hymn is addressed to the sun in his more general aspects; only sts. 25—26 and 39—41 deal directly with Rohita. The third hymn presents Rohita as the avenger of the oppressors of Brahmins; the fourth hymn, partly prose, engages in praise of the god in hackneyed terms.

Book 14 contains the wedding-stanzas of the Atharvans<sup>4</sup>. They coincide largely, though by no means entirely, with the *sūryā-sūkta*, RV. 10.85. Other stanzas of the RV., notably 10.40.10ff., and scattering still others, reappear; yet a considerable number are not found in the RV. In the Gṛhya-sūtras most of these stanzas recur with many variants. The chronology and interrelation of the wedding-stanzas in all these texts is a subject for special investigation: none of the existing collections of these stanzas present them in anything like their primary aspect.

Book 15 in Brāhmana-prose is devoted to the mystic exaltation of the *vrātya*<sup>5</sup>. In the list of theosophic subjects which the Cūlikā Up. 11 ascribes to the AV, the *vrātya* figures between the Brahmacārin (AV. 11. 5) and Skambha (AV. 10.7,8)<sup>6</sup>. There can be no doubt that the theme is in reality Brahma, but section 5 which introduces the *mūrtis* of Rudra shows it to be under Śivaite influence. The *vrātya* (*vrātina*) seems to be a kind of a Brahmacārin, or at any rate one who has entered the Brahmanical community after having been converted from an Aryan, but non-Brahmanical tribe. This is the theme of the so-called *vrātyastomāḥ*, described especially in the Śrauta books of the SV. (PB. 17. 1; IS. 8. 6)<sup>7</sup>; these rites make it possible for an unholy, half-savage, community (*na hi brahmacaryam caranti na kṣm na vanijam*, PB. 17. 1. 2) to become Brahmins. The connection between the *vrātya*-book and the *vrātyastoma* is not to be questioned: in 15. 2 the statement that 'faith has become his paramour, holy words (*mantra*) his Māgadha (outcaste associate)' clearly refers to the conversion of the *vrātya*; the occurrence of such words as *uṣṇā*, *pratoda*, and *tīpātha* in AV. 15. 2, as well as in PB. 17. 1. 14, clinches the connection still further<sup>8</sup>. The *vrātya*, having become holy through his acquired *brahmacaryam* is emphatically the representative of *brahma*, like the Brahmacārin (11. 5) he is apotheosized. The mention of a large number of Sāmans in the book seems to point to some sort of a connection with the schools of the Sāma-Veda. The contents are too abstruse and too absurd for analysis. The book is wanting in AVP.

The sixteenth book contains two distinct parts not related in any way. AV. 19. 23. 26 seems to refer to them in the expression *prājāpatyābhjām jājā*. The first four pieces (first anuvāka) consist of prose-formulas, running into metre occasionally (4. 2); they are designated, Ath. Paris. 10, as *abhiṣekanmantrāḥ*. They clearly consist of ritualistic formulas dealing to some extent with the praise of the waters<sup>9</sup>. Their purpose however is not quite clear, even in the light of Kausika's employment of them. Section 2 recurs ApS. 6. 20. 2 with interesting variations. The rest of the book, 5—9 (second anuvāka) is an elaborate conformation against nightmare which is driven out from one's self and imposed upon enemies. Why these two sections have been gathered up in a separate book does not appear.

Nor is it possible to point out the reason why the single hymn, book 17, should have reached the distinction of a separate book for itself. The hymn, known as the *riśasali* (AV. 19. 23. 27), is one of the most prominent of the *ṣaṣṭī-jī* (class 2) and figures especially in the rites connected with the life of the young Ārya<sup>10</sup>. Kesava to Kau. 42. 12 ff., and Ath. Pañdh. 10

Kaus. 57. 32 mention a *viśāsahī-vrata*<sup>11</sup> from the same sphere of practices; doubtless this hymn figured prominently in it.

Book 18 in four hymns (each an *anuvāka*), contains the funeral-stanzas, being pretty certainly a later version of the corresponding materials in RV. X. This is evident especially from the incorporation into the AV. of RV. X. 10—12; sts. 1—39 of AV. 18. 1 contain these three hymns in the same order as the RV., omitting only six stanzas. The reappearance of RV. 10. 10 in the AV. is natural, because the hymn contains the famous dialogue between Yama and Yamī, whereas RV. 10. 11 and 12 which have no direct relation to Yama or the funeral-practices, are incorporated in the AV. in deference to the redaction of the RV. All 39 sts. are ignored by Kausika. The remaining sts. of hymn 1 and the whole of hymn 2 repeat in totally changed order sts. from RV. 10. 14—17, introducing occasionally other RV. sts., or such as do not appear in RV. at all. Of the 73 sts. of the third hymn only 32 are found in RV.; the rest are peculiar to the AV. and the Yajus (TA. 6). Still more original is hymn 4: only 12 of its 89 sts. are recruited from various books of the RV., and only 7 others coincide with the funeral stanzas of TA. 6<sup>12</sup>. The Atharvan version of this subject is to some extent original, and is not in complete accord with the practices of Kausika which in turn present many individual traits elsewhere unknown. A single original funeral stanza, 7. 21, is stranded outside of the main collection, being seemingly employed, Kaus. 86. 16, in a connection which does not bear upon its contents. Very valuable side-lights upon the funeral-practices are afforded by numerous Atharvan conjurations which allude to details freer and more convincing than many that are codified either in the funeral-stanzas or in the Sūtras; thus the practices of mourning-women which are alluded to in many passages<sup>13</sup>. For other suggestions of this kind see SBE. XLII, Index, under 'funeral practices'. ALLERUNI, India (SACHAU's translation), vol. I, p. 129, remarks that the AV. contains injunctions regarding the dead, and what is to be done with them.

<sup>1</sup> MUIR, OST. V 395, HPAK, Les Hymnes Rohitas, BLOOMFIELD, AJPh. XII 429 ff.; REGAUD, Le Rig Veda et les origines de la mythologie indo-européenne, p. 311 ff., DELSSEN, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, vol. I, part 1, p. 209 ff. — <sup>2</sup> JAOB, XV. 186, AJPh. XII. 430. — <sup>3</sup> Cp. above, § 59 — <sup>4</sup> Translated by WEFER, IS. V. 195 ff. — <sup>5</sup> A tentative translation in ALLERUNI, IS. I. 130 ff. — <sup>6</sup> Cp. also PRASNA Up. 2. 11. — <sup>7</sup> Cp. IS. 9. 2. 25, KS. 12. 1. 2, 22. 4. 1, 27; Yajñav. 1. 34 — <sup>8</sup> ALLERUNI, IS. I. 135, WEFER, IS. I. 33, 35, 445 note, WJ. 73. §5 ff., 122—4, 163, 196. HILFBRANDT, Ritual-Literatur, p. 140, 168, 179. The term *śrīṣṭa* is probably derived from compounds like *anjan-śrīṣṭa*, *apara-śrīṣṭa*, etc. 'having different customs' — <sup>9</sup> See Kaus. 9. 9, 2. 15, and the Index of Citations, p. 410. — <sup>10</sup> Cp. HILFBRANDT, Ritual-Literatur, p. 58 — <sup>11</sup> Book 18 has been translated, explained, and analysed by WEFER, STA. W., 1895, p. 815 ff., 1890, p. 253 ff., cp. also his remark, SPAW., 1891, p. 786. For the literature and criticism of the funeral ceremonies see CALAND, Die Altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, in the transactions of the Amsterdam Academy, 1896, especially the introduction and p. 163 ff., HILFBRANDT, Ritual-Literatur, p. 87 ff. — <sup>12</sup> BLOOMFIELD, Contributions. Second Series, AJPh. Nl. 336 ff.

§ 62. Class 13). The twentieth book. — Of the 143 hymns of book 20 only 13 are in any way peculiar to the AV., namely 2, 48, 49, 127—136, in addition the sts. 34. 12, 16, 17, and 107. 13 = 13. 2. 34<sup>1</sup>. Of these the so-called *luntāpa-sūktāni*, 127—136, in their Atharvamic form and extent are original, and no pada-text of them appears to exist; they are wanting in AVP. The other hymns and stanzas, just catalogued, are borrowed from AVP.<sup>2</sup> The remaining hymns of the book, mostly addressed to Indra, are derived bodily, without a single variant, from the RV., largely the eighth mandala. Thus, e. g., RV. 10. 163 is repeated verbatim AV. 20. 96. 17—22, although

its Atharvan version with the usual variations has occurred previously, 2.33. Compare similarly AV. 5. 2 with RV. 10. 120 = AV. 20. 107. 4—12. The book is known as the *śastrakāṇḍa*, being largely rubricated in Vait., beginning with 19. 6 (in the course of the *agnistoma*), and extending through to the end of that text. It was compiled for use of the Brahman-priest, or more particularly his Atharvanic assistant, the Brāhmanācchariṣin, at the *śāstras* and *stotras* of the soma-sacrifices<sup>1</sup>, at a time when the Atharvans had adopted systematic and extensive Śrauta-rites in imitation of the other Vedic schools; its ritualistic character may be observed especially in connection with the *kuntāpa*-hymns which are preceded and followed by the RV. hymns in the order in which they are called for by the ritual as described in the Brāhmanas and Sūtras<sup>2</sup>. The AV. Prātisākhya does not take it into account (any more than book 19)<sup>3</sup>; it would seem therefore that these books did not at that time form part of the Saunakīya-Saṃhitā, although, of course, this may be due to conscious neglect, induced on the one hand by the exceeding corruption of the Atharvanic parts of these books; on the other by the knowledge that the Rig-Vedic parts of book 20 belong to another śākhā, were therefore not *prātisākhya*. Of the Atharvanic materials hymn 2 consists of Yajus-formulas recited in connection with the *ṛtu-grahas* at the *agnistoma*, Vait. 19. 23<sup>6</sup>; the three Indra-stanzas 34. 12, 16, 17 are original; hymns 48 and 49 are not even rubricated in Vait. All these are from AVP. The single st. 107.13 = 13.2.34 is a later modification of 13. 2. 35 (= RV. 1. 115. 1, et al.). The *kuntāpa*-hymns call for a separate and more searching statement of their contents, purpose, and relation to the ritual, since their Atharvan version seems to be the fullest and most original in existence.

<sup>1</sup> WHITNEY, Index Verborum, p. 2, OLDENBERG, Die Hymnen des RV., 348 ff. — <sup>2</sup> ROTII, AV. in Kāschmir, p. 23 — <sup>3</sup> ROTII, Abhandlung, p. 21; AV. in Kāschmir, I. c.; WL.<sup>2</sup> 162, note. GARBE, Vaitāna-Sūtra, Preface, p. 8, and the notes on the translation of Vait. 25. 11; 26. 10, 27. 28, 29; WEBER, SPAW, 1891, p. 787, note; APAW., 1893, p. 5; OLDENBERG, *ibid* p. 346. — <sup>4</sup> See below, § 63, near the end. <sup>5</sup> WHITNEY, JAOS. VII. 334, 381. cp. WL.<sup>2</sup> p. 168, note. — <sup>6</sup> Similar formulas, KS. 9. 8. 9 ff.; Aps. 11. 9. 8 (cp. SB. 4. 6. 6. 5).

§ 63. Class 14). The *kuntāpa*-hymns.—AV. 20. 127—136 are designated in the mss. as *kuntāpasūktāni*<sup>1</sup>, being introduced and concluded by the expressions, *atha kuntāpasūktāni*, and, *iti kuntāpasūktāni samāptāni*. The exact scope of the designation *kuntāpa* is not certain. Śāyana at AB.6.32.1; 33.1 defines as the *kuntāpa*-hymn the thirty stanzas, equal to the first two hymns of the *kuntāpa-saṃhitā*, as given in the AV. (20. 127 and 128), but the whole collection also figures in his view as a supplementary book (*khila*) with the name *kuntāpa*<sup>2</sup>. This seems also to be the view of the Vait. 32. 19, which assigns the name to the first two hymns, and employs the designations *aitāpralāpa*, etc. for the following hymns (32. 20 ff.). In SŚ. 12. 13. 7 (cp. 12. 6. 13) the term *kuntāpa* seems to be restricted to a part of the collection, as given in that Sūtra (12. 14—16 = AV. 20. 127. 1—6, 11—13; 128. 12, 13, 15; 135. 13, 11, 12). But inasmuch as all parts of the collection, including those just mentioned, have specific names in addition to the generic *kuntāpa* (see below), the latter word may after all have been used by Śākhāyana (as also by Vait.) at the beginning of his presentation of the *kuntāpa* materials as a name for the whole to the neglect of the specific names (*nārāśasyah*, *raibhyah*, etc.)<sup>3</sup>, until he arrived (12. 17) at the *parikṣityah*. This view is born out by KB. 30. 5. Similarly AS 8. 3. 7 the word *kuntāpa* is used by way of introduction to these materials, none of the subsidiary designations appearing until the *bhūtechadah*-stanzas (AV. 20. 135. 11 ff.) are reached, sūtra 27. Again, GB. 2. 6. 12 begins with, *atha kuntāpaṃ śāinsati*, neglecting the

subsidiary name *nārāsaṁsyah* for the opening passage, *idaṁ janā upa śrūta* (AV. 20. 127. 1—3), but introducing the following subdivisions with their proper designations, *atha raibhūh saṁsati*, *vyacasā* etc. (AV. 20. 127. 4—6). On the whole it seems quite clear that the name *kuntāpa* is understood to belong to the whole collection which varies somewhat in extent and arrangement in each of the texts that employ it, but that the name was sometimes employed for one or two of the initial hymns; in the latter case the specific designations of the opening hymns were more or less suppressed, although they were probably well known in each of the schools.

In addition to AV. only ŚS. gives the *kuntāpa*-materials in full: the other texts (AB. GB. AS. Vait.) give only the pratikas, with an occasional stanza in full; the KB. does not even cite the pratikas but mentions the subdivisions under their specific designations (*nārāsaṁsyah*, etc.). The *kuntāpa*-texts in the ŚS. (12. 14 ff.) read like an extract from the AV. in an arrangement markedly different; this version also underlies the statements of KB. 30. 5 ff., being therefore the traditional material in vogue in the school of the Śāṅkhāyanas or Kauṣītakins. All the stanzas, riddles, and answers of the ŚS. appear also in the much larger collection of the AV., excepting the bracketed st. 7 in ŚS. 12. 21. 1, which occurs on the margin of some mss., being omitted by others altogether. In many cases the readings of the ŚS. mss. agree with those at the basis of the vulgata. HILBRANDT has frequently adopted the corrections proposed by the editors of the vulgata. The remaining texts, AB. GB. AS. Vait., presuppose a version nearly if not quite identical with the AV.: the few differences are almost entirely in the nature of variant readings whose substantiality however is often rendered suspicious by the exceeding corruption of the text of the *kuntāpa*. In some respects the AS. handles its materials, as might be expected, rather in accordance with ŚS. than AV., e. g. in its treatment of the *aitalāpratāpa*, AS. 8. 3. 14—17 (see below).

The liturgic tradition of the *kuntāpa-saṁsra* corresponds obviously to the natural subdivisions according to subject-matter in the *kuntāpa* hymns themselves: their treatment therefore from the combined points of view of hymns and ritual is imperative. The following division of the hymns as reported in the AV. appears to be founded upon their intrinsic contents as well as their use in the sastras:

I. AV. 20. 127. 1—3 = ŚS. 12. 14. 1—3. St. 1 in AS. 8. 3. 10; its pratika, GB. 2. 6. 12, Vait. 32. 19. The AB. 6. 32. 3 ff. (cp. also 1), KB. 30. 5, as also the commentators generally (e. g. at ŚS. 12. 16. 1), designate these stanzas as *nārāsaṁsyah* (sc. *raibhūh*). The subject is a fabulous *danastuti* in praise of Kaurama, a prince of the Rūkṣas. See SBE. XLII 197, 690.

II. AV. 20. 127. 4—6 = ŚS. 12. 14. 4—15. 1 (in different order) The pratika in GB. 2. 6. 12. The GB., AB. 6. 32. 7 ff. (cp. also 1), KB. 30. 5, and the comms. designate them as *raibhūh*. The theme is the praise of Rebha (Agni) who bestows cattle and wealth, or an exhortation to a human chanter (poet) to perform his functions. A comparison of the chanter with Agni is involved in any case. See SBE. XLII 197, 690 ff.

III. AV. 20. 127. 7—10 = ŚS. 12. 17. 1. 1—4. The pratika in GB. 2. 6. 12. The GB., AB. 6. 32. 10 ff. (cp. also 1), ŚS., KB. 30. 5, and the comms. designate them as *pārikṣāh*. Praise of Agni Pārikṣit, the typical god of Brahminical piety. See SBE. XLII 197, 691 ff.

IV. AV. 20. 127. 11—14 = ŚS. 12. 15. 2—4. The pratika in GB. 2. 6. 12. The GB., AB. 6. 32. 16 ff. (cp. also 1), KB. 30. 5, and the comms. designate them as *śāratyāh*. Exhortation of the poet by Indra who, as reward for a song of praise, grants wealth and destroys enemies. See SBE. XLII 198, 692.



V. AV. 20. 128. 1—5 = ŚŚ. 12. 20. 1. 1—5. The pratika in GB. 2. 6. 12. The GB., AB. 6. 32. 19 ff., KB. 30. 7, SS., and the comms. designate them as *disam kṣiprayah*, 'arrangement of the directions of space, orientation'. The paragraph consists of didactic stanzas (*nīti*), in which certain kinds of conduct are correlated with the five directions of space, *prāk*, *adharāk*, *udak*, *apāk*, and, apparently, *ūrdhram* as the fifth, implied in the words, *disam iva ga-trāya*, in st. 5. Proper conduct seems to be associated in 1, 3, 5 with *prāk*, *udak*, and *ūrdhram*; improper conduct in 2, 4 with *adharāk*, and *apāk*. The possible pejorative sense of the last two in contrast to the good sense of the other three seems to be the main point of these wise saws, but the untrustworthiness of the text (cp. ŚŚ.) renders this entire construction problematic. St. 1: 'The man of good house, of rich establishment, who presses (the soma) and brings sacrifices, as well as yonder sun, the illustrious gods fixed as east'. The opposite kind of a man (a stingy one) is correlated in st. 4 with 'west' (*apāk*).

VI. AV. 20. 128. 6—11 = ŚŚ. 12. 21. 2. 1—6. The pratika in GB. 2. 6. 12. The GB., AB. 6. 32. 23 ff., KB. 30. 7, SS., and the comms. designate them as *janakalpāḥ*, 'containing the classification of folk', or the like. The subject is didactic and related to the preceding: desirable and undesirable folks are compared in classes. E. g. sts. 8, 9: 'A lake without watering-place, a rich man who is stingy, and an unseductive, ugly maid are of like character; of like character (on the other hand are also) a lake with a good watering-place, a liberal rich man, and a seductive, beautiful maid'. The classification in sts. 10, 11 of the *parivṛtā mahiṣ* and the *rūvātā mahiṣ*, of a slow and a swift horse, and the obscenity which appears here, as also frequently in the sequel, suggest conditions similar to the notorious practices at the *atvamedha* and *puruṣamedha*. Indeed the three abusive stanzas (*asīlabbhāṣanam*) 10, 8, 6 (inverse order), are employed ŚŚ. 16. 13. 10 in the course of the *puruṣamedha*; cp. Vait. 38. 2.

VII. AV. 20. 128. 12—16 = ŚŚ. 12. 15. 1. 5—12. 16. 1. 2 (sts. 14, 16 of AV. wanting in ŚŚ.). The pratika in GB. 2. 6. 12. The GB., AB. 6. 32. 25 ff., KB. 30. 5, and the comms. designate them as *indragāthāḥ*. The theme is praise of Indra, the conqueror of demons and enemies.

VIII. AV. 20. 129—132. ŚŚ. has only a limited number of these pādas: AV. 20. 129. 1—10 = ŚŚ. 12. 18. 1. 1—9, AV. 20. 132. 2—7, 9, 11, 12 = ŚŚ. 12. 18. 1. 10—18; AV. 20. 131. 10, 11 = ŚŚ. 12. 18. 1. 19, 20. The AŚ. 8. 3. 14—17 presents the same three groups of stanzas as appear in ŚŚ., giving as pratikas ŚŚ. 12. 18. 1. 1 and 10, followed by 19 and 20 in full<sup>12</sup>. In AB. 6. 33. 2; GB. 2. 6. 13; Vait. 32. 20 the pratika appears; AB., GB., ŚŚ., KB. 30. 5, and the comms. designate it as *aitātapratīpa* (or *aitāṣa*) 'the chatter of Aitāṣa'<sup>13</sup>. The Brāhmaṇa-texts present mystic, apologetic legends in explanation of this chatter of the sage Aitāṣa, designed to show its great liturgic power. But there is certainly no basis in the text itself for a sage Aitāṣa. Either the name was abstracted verbally from the initial words *aitā* *atvā*, or the variegated horse of the sun, *aitāṣa*, is supposed to underlie the enigmatic (*brahmodya*) nonsense of the text<sup>14</sup>. The first part has been rendered tentatively and without explanation by ZIMMER, p. 131.

IX. AV. 20. 133 = ŚŚ. 12. 22, where an additional riddle, without answer is added by some mss. (st. 7). The pratika, GB. 2. 6. 13; AŚ. 8. 3. 18; Vait. 32. 21. The answers to these riddles are inserted in AV., are stated separately AŚ. 8. 3. 19; Vait. 32. 25, but are altogether absent from ŚŚ. The GB., AB. 6. 33. 16, KB. 30. 7, SS., and the comms. designate them as *pratāhikāḥ*<sup>15</sup>, 'riddles'; by propounding them the gods (*ā* & Sphinx) got the better of the Asuras. In the AV. the riddle is given first, then the answer, and finally a



Rig-vidhāna 3. 24. 4 the *āhanasyāh* are recited over a woman who runs about with other men; cp. MEYER'S introduction, p. xv, xvii.

The *kuntāpa*-hymns are preceded in the AV. by the *vr̥ṣakapi*-hymn (126) and followed by the *dādāhikra*-stanzas (137. 3 ff.), exactly as in the Brāhmanas and Sūtras. Their preservation is therefore due to the presence in the Śastra-kāṇḍa (book 20) of the hymnal material recited primarily in the RV. schools on the sixth day of the *pr̥ṣṭhyasaḍaha*, a sacrificial week of six days belonging to the so-called *ahīna*-sacrifices, lasting from 2 to 12 days. The *pr̥ṣṭhyasaḍaha* is a part of the *dvādaśāha*<sup>22</sup>. The entire series of hymns in question, the so-called *śilpas* 'works of art' (AB. 6. 27 ff) bear a popular character. As regards the *kuntāpa*-pieces, their presence in the ritual is taken with the utmost seriousness by the ritualists, though not without apologies for their disgusting, foolish, and obscene character. Thus GB. 2. 6. 12 etymologizes upon *kuntāpa* as *kutsitam* ... *jat tapati* 'loathsome and offensive', and the nonsense of the *aitasapratāpa* is whitewashed by liturgic legends (see above). The entire material bears the impress of a fossil in the midst of an honest serious performance: it is something which must have stood outside in a prehistoric period of the sacrifice, being connected with it at first by looser, more accidental ties, until the rigid formalism of which the existing texts are the final expression had placed everything upon the same footing of sanctity. The nursery-charade and the song of the brothel cannot reasonably be supposed to have found its way into the Śrauta-ritual in any other way. Traces of such extra-Brahmanical doings occur in connection with many other Śrauta-sacrifices, notably the *r̥jasiya*, *atvamedha*, and *puruṣamedha*<sup>23</sup>; they, as indeed most other sacrifices, mark the presence of popular customs and festivities encrusted within Brahmanical solemnities. One source of the more natural human element in the sacrifice was unquestionably the *dakṣiṇā*, the priests' reward. The *dānastutis* even in the RV. betray the exhilarated frame of mind of those that received the *dakṣiṇā*. The exaggerated statements of gifts received were not only intended to stimulate future givers, but mark the note of festivity. Closely related to the *dānastutis* are the *gāthā nārāsaṃśyah*, or *gāthāh* and *nārāsaṃśyah*, 'stanzas which sing the praises of generous men', in the Brāhmanas and Sūtras<sup>24</sup>. They sing them so loudly that the texts in their soberer moments decry them as *anṛtam* 'lies' (KS. 14. 15), and *śamalam* 'pollution' (TB. 1. 3. 2. 6)<sup>25</sup>. In the last-mentioned place the reciter of the *gāthā nārāsaṃśi*, and the man drunk with *sura* are placed on the same level: they are polluted, their gifts must not be accepted. Now the merry and unsavory literature of the *kuntāpa*-variety is likely to have been associated with *dānastuti*, *nārāsaṃśi*, and *ākhyana* (see already RV. 1. 126, and 8. 1. 30 ff.), just as the obscene practices — in part to be sure symbolic — of the *atvamedha* follow upon the great and festive slaughter of cattle customary on that occasion. And it is noteworthy that both *atvamedha* and *puruṣamedha* are the special repositories of *nārāsaṃśa*-literature<sup>26</sup>.

The *dānastutis* and *nārāsaṃśis* are therefore one of the more bilarious elements which tended to bridge over from the solemn acts of the sacrifice to what for lack of a better term we might call a kind of liturgic 'saukneipe'. Plainly speaking, the bestowal of the *dakṣiṇā* in many instances must have lead to gormandizing and drunkenness, and these were probably in turn followed — the practice is not entirely unknown in our days — by shallow witticisms, by obscene talk, and worse. This we must not imagine to have taken place uninterruptedly without sporadic recollection of the religious character of the event (cp. the theosophic and cosmogonic *brahmodya* at the *atvamedha*)<sup>27</sup>; in the main however social jollification was the motive, until, in the course of the

Upaniṣad; indeed one passage, GB. 1. 1. 16—30, is practically identical with the Pranou (Pranava) Upaniṣad in ANQUETIL-DUPERRON'S Latin translation of the Persian Oupnekhat; another, GB. 1. 1. 31—38, itself claims the title of Upaniṣad (1. 1. 38, end); see §§ 18 and 68 ff. Nor are they presented in accord with and in the order of the sacrifice (*śajñākrama*) either in Vait. or any other Śrauta-text. The uttara, on the other hand, follows in the main the order of Vait. by compiling from various sources a fairly connected Brāhmaṇa to accompany the action of Vait. This is attended inevitably by Atharvanic adaptations, sporadic, hap-hazard, and imperfect, both as regards subject-matter and mantras: the scrappy character of the product is evident on the surface. In a general way the uttara in its relation to Vait. may be compared with the relation of the first nine books of SB. to the original nucleus of the VS. (books 1—18); the pūrva being comparable with (as it is to some extent dependent upon) the remaining five books of SB.<sup>3</sup> Both parts, however, are very late productions, one cannot say from how recent a century; both parts were composed after Vait., resting upon a most slender basis of ancient Atharvanic tradition: the uttara, moreover, leaves the impression of a date still later than the pūrva. Thus the usual chronological relations in the redaction of Brāhmaṇa, Śrauta-sūtra, and Gṛhya-sūtra are turned about in the Atharvan: the Kauṣika (Gṛhya-sūtra) was composed before the Vaitāna (Śrauta-sūtra)<sup>4</sup>, the Vaitāna before the GB., — the cone is inverted and balances upon a mere point of genuine Atharvanic tradition as far as both Vait. and GB. are concerned.

§ 65. The Uttara-Brāhmaṇa. — The history of this production is well illustrated by its treatment of the *cāturmāsyaṇi*, or seasonal offerings, sections 2. 1. 19—26 of GB. These are purloined with slight modifications from KB., being its fifth book in toto. The Vait. treats this subject in 8. 8—9. 27, and there are, of course, correspondences between it and GB., due to the sameness of the subject. Thus Vait. 8. 8 is literally identical with the opening of GB. 2. 1. 19. The GB. does not mention the mantras of Vait., except that it works in the two formulas, *om śadha*, and, *astu śadha* (Vait. 9. 11), in 2. 1. 24. The adaptation is most superficial; at any rate there can be no question that this part of GB. was composed subsequently to both Vait. and KB. Even more characteristic is the treatment of the *atirātra* (soma-sacrifice), GB. 2. 5. 1—5. This is compiled from two sources, AB. 4. 5 and 6, and KB. 17. 7—9, baldly put down, one after another, without any attempt to harmonize. Thus the three *paryayas* (periods) of the *atirātra* are explained twice as typifying the successive expulsion of the Asuras from the three periods of the night, once in the words of AB. 4. 5, the second time in the words of KB. 17. 8. Very striking, too, is GB. 2. 3. 11, illustrating in the course of the *agniśoma* the passage Vait. 21. 3. 4: the Brāhmaṇa is copied with slight alterations from KB. 11. 4 and 5; the compiler is not even at pains to expunge the expression, *iti ha smāha kauṣitakiḥ*, which of itself betrays its origin. Indeed throughout the text the Atharvavedin borrows the Rishis along with the passages in which they figure. Again, cases of undisguised pilfering are the three *kāmyeśajayah*, GB. 2. 1. 13—15, which reproduce almost verbatim MS. 2. 1. 19, and the statement about the *anzāhārya*, GB. 2. 1. 6, taken from MS. 1. 4. 6 (p. 54, l. 3 ff.). These are specimen cases: the uttara exploits especially AB. and KB., but other Brāhmaṇas, SB., TS., MS., and even PB., are not exempt from depredation.

Stated numerically, about 80 of the 123 sections of the uttara owe their materials either entirely or largely to older texts, as far as is known now. Doubtless future search will reveal still other instances of the dependence of GB., since there are at present no regular channels for investigations of this

kind. The correspondences stated in the order of the uttara are: 2. 1. 1: KB. 6. 13; — 2. 1. 3 (latter half): KB. 6. 14 (beginning); — 2. 1. 4: TS. 2. 6. 9; — 2. 1. 6: MS. 1. 4. 6 (p. 54, l. 3 ff.); — 2. 1. 9, very similar to TS. 2. 5. 5. 1 ff.; — 2. 1. 10 (beginning): Kauś. 1. 29, 30; — 2. 1. 11: TS. 2. 5. 5. 2 ff.; — 2. 1. 13—15: MS. 2. 1. 10; — 2. 1. 18: MS. 3. 3. 7 (p. 40, l. 2 ff.); — 2. 1. 19—26: KB. 5 (entire); — 2. 2. 2—4: TS. 6. 2. 2. 1 ff.; — 2. 2. 6: AB. 1. 18; — 2. 2. 13: TS. 3. 5. 2. 1; — 2. 2. 20—22: AB. 6. 10 (complete), 6. 11. 6 ff., and 6. 12. 6 ff.; — 2. 3. 1—6: AB. 3. 5—8; — 2. 3. 6 (latter half): AB. 7. 33. 5 ff.; — 2. 3. 7, 8: AB. 2. 29, and 6. 14. 5; — 2. 3. 10: AB. 3. 12; — 2. 3. 11: KB. 11. 4. 5; — 2. 3. 12: AB. 3. 14; — 2. 3. 17—19: MS. 4. 8. 3; — 2. 3. 20, 21: AB. 3. 23; — 2. 3. 22: AB. 3. 24; — 2. 4. 5: AB. 6. 3. 8—11; — 2. 4. 6: KB. 18. 7, 8; — 2. 4. 8: TS. 3. 3. 8. 2 ff.; — 2. 4. 9: TS. 3. 3. 8. 4 ff.; — 2. 4. 10: AB. 3. 44; — 2. 4. 19: AB. 4. 1. 5—8; — 2. 5. 1—3: AB. 4. 5, 6; — 2. 5. 4—5: KB. 17. 7—9; — 2. 5. 6: SB. 12. 8. 3. 1, 2; — 2. 5. 7: SB. 12. 8. 3. 23—28; — 2. 5. 8: PB. 18. 7; — 2. 5. 11: AB. 6. 17. 1, 2, and 6. 5; — 2. 5. 12: AB. 6. 6, — 2. 5. 13: AB. 6. 7; — 2. 5. 14: AB. 6. 8; — 2. 5. 15: AB. 6. 18. 4 ff., introduced by a sentence from AB. 6. 17. 2, and ending in a passage from AB. 6. 17. 3, 4; — finally of the 16 sections of the sixth prapāṭhaka all except one and a half (2. 6. 6, and the first half of 2. 6. 7) are entirely or largely dependent upon the fifth and especially the sixth book of AB. These 80 sections do not mark the limit of the materials in the uttara that can lay no claim to originality. Thus GB. 2. 1. 16; 2. 9; and 2. 12 are apparently nothing but Brāhmanized extracts from Vait. itself, respectively, 11. 1; 15. 3; and 16. 15—17, there are also other verbal correspondences between Vait. and GB. which suggest the superficial creation of Brāhmanic matter directly out of the sūtras of Vait. Again, quite a considerable number of sections, dealing with the *sastras* of the three daily *śaṅkhas* (2. 3. 13—15; 2. 4. 1—3, and 2. 4. 11—8) seem to be little more than the statements of the RV-sūtras worked over slightly into Brāhmanic form; cp., e. g., GB. 2. 4. 1—3 with SS. 7. 22—24, AS. 7. 4. 1 ff. Future investigations on the part of a second editor of GB. will doubtless narrow down the limits of the original matter of the uttara to a minimum.

Just as the uttara presupposes the older Brāhmaṇas, so it is no less certainly based upon the existing text of the Vaitāna. One may say, in accordance with the paradoxical inter-relation of these secondary Atharvan texts, that to some extent the Vait. figures, as it were, as the Samhitā of GB. Thus original mantras of Vait., or, at any rate, mantras stated in full, are frequently cited in the uttara by their pratika. The Brāhmana is not consistent in these matters: the long yajus, Vait. 3. 20, is repeated in full GB. 2. 1. 7, but the formulas, Vait. 3. 14. 4, 16, are cited by pratika, GB. 2. 1. 3 and 4. Similarly the *gharma-suktā* from AVP. is given in full Vait. 14. 1, but its pratika only appears GB. 2. 1. 6. Note especially GB. 2. 2. 12 and 18 where the mantras of Vait. 16. 17 and 18. 11 are cited fragmentarily, with explanations in the manner of SB. when engaged in expounding mantras of VS. Very characteristic, too, for the priority of Vait. is GB. 2. 1. 16 which treats its theme out of order and connection, whereas in Vait. 11. 2 it properly introduces the *agni-śoma*.

Nevertheless the uttara has certainly some, though probably very few original sections. Thus the *prastāva*-legend, GB. 2. 1. 2, though based upon materials from older texts, betrays itself as an Atharvanic fabrication by the introduction of the clap-trap Rishis, Idhmā Āngirasa, and Barhi Āngirasa, leading up to Īṣṭaspati Āngirasa who, of course, represents the Atharvanic (fourth) priest. Section 2. 2. 5 starts with an explanation of the word *ṛakṣi* in Nirukta manner, leading up





anic legend clearly built upon Vait. 5. 10, and, more remotely, upon Kauś. 8 and 9.

Yet the pūrva is not devoid of a certain originality. The cosmogony, 1. 1. 1—15; the Pranava-Upaniṣad, 1. 1. 16—30; the Gāyatrī-Upaniṣad, 1. 1. 31—38; the sections on the duties of the Brahmacārin (rubricating AV. 11. 5) in 1. 2. 1—9; the Brāhmana of the 'fire-footed horse' at the *agnyādhāna* in 1. 2. 18—21, with quite a number of original words at the end of 1. 2. 21; and other sections seem to represent a form of scholastic activity unknown elsewhere in this precise form. The list of subsidiary writings in 1. 2. 10 (1. 2. 9 of the edition), though again late in character, does not occur elsewhere in this arrangement and extent<sup>11</sup>. A somewhat independent statement of the *yajñākrama* is presented in 1. 5. 7. No Vedic text is wanting in independent mantras and formulas, or fails to introduce independent variants into such as are paralleled by other texts. In this regard the pūrva is much like other Brāhmanas: 1. 1. 9 contains a mantra of Upaniṣad-character (*śreṣṭha ha vedas*), repeated with variants by Śyāna in his introduction to the AV., p. 5, but otherwise unknown. In 1. 1. 39 the pratika, *āpo garbham janayanti*, seems to be a version (Paippalāda?) of AV. 4. 2. 8. In 1. 2. 7 an expiatory mantra, recited by Brahmacārins in case they happen to step upon a burial-ground, is added to other *prāyaścitta*-stanzas which GB shares with Vait. 12. 8, 9. At the end of the same section (1. 2. 7) AV. 11. 5. 23 in its Paippalāda form is presented in *sakalapāsha*; similarly the mantra, *cātvarī śṛṅgās* (for *śṛṅgā*, RV. 4. 58 3, et al), in 1. 2. 17<sup>12</sup>. In 1. 2. 9 the mantra, *antarikṣe pathibhir* etc., shows marked variants as compared with its parallel, RV. 10. 168. 3; the formulas in 1. 3. 13, do not occur in Vait., and differ from those in the corresponding passage, ŚB. 11. 5. 3. 8 ff.; the two stanzas at the end of 1. 5. 5 also present variants as compared with ŚB. 12. 3. 2. 7—8, occurring nowhere else. Above all, the typical mantras at the three daily soma-offerings (*śeno 'si* etc.) in 1. 5. 12 differ not only from those of the corresponding passage, ŚB. 12. 3. 4. 3—5, but also from those of the Saunakiya-samhitā (AV. 6. 48), and, as far as known, from all other versions of these formulas<sup>13</sup>. And throughout the text, aside from the three metrical chapters 1. 5. 23—25, there are ślohas and other metrical passages so clearly Atharvanic in character that they may not be expected to turn up in older texts (e.g. 1. 1. 32, end; cp. 2. 2. 5): their Patisiṣṭa-character and their originality are equally obvious.

The following brief account of the contents of the GB follows the text section by section. The more or less original themes of the text are dealt with at greater length; the parts which are extracted with or without modifications and adaptations from other Brāhmanas are dealt with very lightly; frequently a mere reference to the source from which the GB has derived its material was found sufficient.

The Gopatha Brāhmana of the Atharva Veda. Edited by RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA and HARACANDRA VIDYĀBHÜṢANA, Calcutta 1872. Critical remarks on the text of this edition: OTTO V. BOHTLINGER, BKSGW., April, 1896, p. 12 ff. of the reprint; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. XIX, p. 1 ff. The first account of the contents and character of the GB appeared in MAX MÜLLER, HASI., p. 445—455; cp. COLERBROOK, Essays, II. 82; WL., p. 167.

<sup>11</sup> This and the following two paragraphs are based on the author's article on the GB., JAOS. XIX, p. 3—11. — <sup>2</sup> *atra gopathak śatapathakam* (1) *brāhmaṇam āstī, tasyāvalokite ācā brāhmaṇe pūrvam uttaram ca*: Caranavyūha, Aih. Paris 49. The existing text contains a total of only 11 *prapāthakas* — 3 Cp. WL., p. 118 and 130 ff. — 4 BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. XI, p. 375 ff.; HILFFRANDT, Ritual-Literatur, p. 35 ff. — 5 Note also the passage beginning with, *tad yathā lavanā*, GB. 1. 1. 14, which seems borrowed from Chand. Up. 4. 17. 7; and GB. 1. 5. 11





this order? From the Āṅgīrasa-Veda comes the word *janat* which is the *vyākṛti* of that Veda<sup>9</sup> (8). This is followed by an especial panegyric of the Āṅgīrasaḥ, illustrated by a mantra of independent character<sup>10</sup>. (9). Brahma next elaborates from the six directions five other Vedas and from these the *vyākṛtis*: *sarpaveda* and *vr̥dhat*; *piśācaveda* and *karat*; *asuraveda* and *guhāt*; *itihāsaveda* and *mahāt*; *śurānaveda* and *tāt*<sup>11</sup> (10). From the near and distant regions he extracts *śam*, 'the high syllable', *ūrdhram akṣaram*, with allusion, doubtless, to the *śānta-veda* (11). Brahma continues to create the moon, stars, plants and trees, and from 'his minor breaths the many other gods', winding up with the 'threefold, seven-stringed sacrifice consisting of 21 forms'. The text illustrates the latter by citing a pāda from the Paippalāda-hymn given in full Vait. 10. 17, and by referring to the śloka-chapter, GB. 1. 5. 25. (12). Brahma then institutes a sacrifice choosing certain divinities as special Śrauta-priests<sup>12</sup>. Candramās the divinity of the AV. figures as Brahman-priest, the Atharvāṅgīrasaḥ as a special variety of Brahmans, called *gopīrasaḥ*. Prajāpati recommends that abundant fees be given to such priests lest there be injury to the *ṛtvij*, the sacrificer, and his offspring (13). Finally the functions of the Brahman-priest (and the *gopīrasaḥ*) as curers (*samdhana*) of the flaws of the sacrifice (*virīṣṭa*) are defined<sup>13</sup> (14, 15). The entire cosmogony is original in that it establishes the Atharva as the pivot about which the creative acts revolve, and in leading up dexterously to the presumably main object of a Brāhmaṇa of the AV.: the exaltation of the functions of the Brahman-priest who is, of course, understood to be an Atharvavedin.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. Brh. Ār. Up. 5. 4 — 2 *parotja*: GB. 1. 1. 7 (*bis*), 39; 2. 21 (*bis*); 3. 19; 4. 23, and similarly AB. 3. 33. 6; 7. 30. 4; 1B. 1. 5. 9. 2, etc. — 3 GB. 1. 1. 20, 29, 39; 2. 16. 23; 3. 14; 5. 15, 19. The conception reaches back to the Samhitā itself, AV. 2. 22 and 23: see § 45. — 4 Cp. AV. 19. 22 and 23, and see § 35. — 5 The same subject is treated in an expanded form in the second cosmogony, 1. 1. 17—19. — 6 This etymology occurs also JBU. 2. 11. 9. — 7 Cp. BRUGAIGNA, III. 144; GELDERER, Ved. Stud. II. 292. — 8 Cp. IS. XIII. 433. — 9 *janat* as the *vyākṛti* of the Āṅgīrasa-Veda is contrasted with *om* of the Atharvana-Veda also in GB. 1. 1. 20; 2. 24; 3. 3; 2. 2. 14. Neither Kauśika nor Vaitāna bring out any such distinction, *janat* being the general Atharvanic *vyākṛti*: see the indexes to the editions, p. 381 (Kauś.) and p. 95 (Vait.). For the origin of *janat* cp. RV. 2. 21. 4; 4. 40. 2 (cp. also 3. 61. 4). — 10 Quoted with variants by Sayana in the introduction to the AV., p. 5. — 11 Cp. Kauś. 9. 10 ff. — 12 Emend in the text, *camasā*, *adhvaryavo* to *camasādhvaryavo*. — 13 Cp. Kauś. 9. 5 ff. The passage in GB. 1. 1. 14, *tāt yathā lavayena* etc. is borrowed from Chānd. Up. 4. 17. 7; it is alluded to a second time in GB. 1. 3. 3.

§ 68. First Prapāṭhaka: 1. 1. 16—30. *The Pranava-Upaniṣad*, being a cosmogonic account deriving creation from the *om*. — In the Persian translation of fifty Upaniṣads, the so-called Oupnekhat, which was made in 1656 for the Sultan Mohammed Dīrā Shukoh in the city of Delhi, and which was afterwards (1801—2) translated by ANQUETIL DUPERRON into Latin, the Pranou figures as the 48<sup>th</sup> Upaniṣad of the collection<sup>1</sup>. WEDDER, after erroneously identifying the Pranou with the Prāna and Prāṇāgnihotra Upaniṣads (IS. I. 249, 286), soon recognized its proper title to be Pranava (IS. II. 394, 396; III. 326), and presented an account of it, condensed from ANQUETIL'S Latin translation (IS. IX 49 ff.). Manuscripts of an independent Pranava-Upaniṣad are reported in the catalogues<sup>2</sup>, but have not up to date come into the hands of students of the Upaniṣads. Thus DEUSSEN in his recent translation of the Upaniṣads (Sechzig Upanishads, p. 858 ff.) felt compelled to present the Pranou in a German translation from ANQUETIL'S Perso-Latin version, without, as he thought, having access to the original. Yet the Sanskrit text of the Pranava has unconsciously of



figures as a Rishi at the beginning of the *dvāpara*-age (see § 66, note 1). The chapter again leads up to the importance of the *bhrgvaṅgīrovidah* (24—28). This in turn furnishes the occasion for an account of the four Vedas and renewed exaltation of the AV. The Vedas, their divinities (the moon, as usual, the divinity of the AV.), metres, and especially their initial mantras are stated: as opening mantra of the AV. the pratika of 1.6.1 (*saṃ no devīr abhiṣṭaye*) is given<sup>5</sup>. A renewed mystic exaltation of the *om* serves as the finale of the *om*-cosmogony (29, 30).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. MAX MÜLLER, SBE. vol. I, p. LVIII ff. — <sup>2</sup> See p. 21, note 52. — <sup>3</sup> Read, *afah snehaś ca*, for *afasnehaś ca*, with BÖHTLINGK, BKSGW., February, 1896, p. 16 of the reprint. — <sup>4</sup> Cp., e. g., Chand. Up. VI. 2 ff. — <sup>5</sup> Though *om* is said in 1. 1. 16, 25 to consist of four morae, its treatment here presupposes five. The *v* seems to be a transitional consonant derived from *o* = *av*, i. e., *au 3 v m*; cp. BÖHTLINGK, l. c. — <sup>6</sup> Cp. however SBE. XLII, p. XXXII ff. — <sup>7</sup> See BÖHTLINGK, l. c., p. 17. — <sup>8</sup> See Kāvśika, Introduction, p. XXXVII ff. and above, p. 14.

§ 69. First Prapāṭhaka: 1. 1. 31—38. The Gāyatrī-Upaniṣad.— This text describes itself as an Upaniṣad, and deals with a theme suggestive of the Śaṅkara Upaniṣad, though it is not at all like it (cp. DISSIN, l. c. p. 867). It has been translated by RĀJENDRAĀLA MITRA in the introduction to his edition of GB., p. 19 ff. It begins with the legend of a scholastic duel between Maudgalya and a strange sage Glāva Maitreya, apparently an adherent of the Soma Veda, judging by the fact that the name Glāva is mentioned in PB. 25. 15. 3, SB 1.4.6; Chind Up. 1. 12, and, as far as is known, nowhere else. Glāva is defeated because he cannot explain 'the *savitṛī*, the *gāyatrī*, of 24 syllables and 12 (cosmic) pairs, whose eye are the *bhrgvaṅgīrasah*, on which all this is founded'. Maudgalya then explains (33) Savitar and the *savitṛī* as consisting of 12 cosmic pairs (*mithunam*): mind and speech; Agni and earth, etc., vinding up with the sacrifice and its fee (*yajña* and *dakṣiṇā*). Then follows a mystic correlation of the three pādas of the *gāyatrī* with three cosmic sets of twelve each, *pīthūṛ*, *re*, *agni*, etc., *antarikṣa*, *yajus*, *rāyu*, etc., each of which has the final outcome of *ṛata*, religious devotion (cp. *ṛareṇa* in the text of the *gāyatrī*). With characteristic inconsistency the AV. itself is ignored in this apportionment of the *gāyatrī*, though it has been assumed that the *bhrgvaṅgīrasah* are its eye. The subject ends with the statement, *śryam ānute ja . . . cam dāṃ rādānaṃ mātaraṃ savitṛīrasampadam upanīṣadam upaṣṭa ite bruhmaram*.

§ 70. First Prapāṭhaka 1. 1. 39. The ācamana-rite.— The first prapāṭhaka ends with a chapter on the *ācamana*, being the Brāhmana-comment to Vait. 1. 19, Kaus. 3. 4; 90. 22. The opening pratika, *āfo garbham janā-jantīḥ*, seems to refer to an independent (Paippalāda?) version of AV. 4.2.8 (*āfo tatsaṃ janā-jantīḥ*); other mantras (AV. 19. 69 and 70), formulas, and slokas are also cited. The main pre-crypt is, that the *ācamana*, the act of rinsing the mouth, shall take place three times; the Atharvan school-character of the chapter appears in the identification of the three *ācamana*s with the *furastāidhena*, *ājyabhagau*, and *samsthītahomāḥ* (Kaus. 3. 19; Vait. 1. 4, etc.) Finally the *bhrgvaṅgīrasah* are correlated with the waters by means of a śloka similar to the prose-statement in 1. 1. 29. The chapter is an independent, though late, Atharvanic lucubration; it may possibly have been suggested by the expression, *āfo jhotiṣi pratīṣṭitah*, in the preceding section.

§ 71. Second Prapāṭhaka: 1. 2. 1—9. The duties of the Brahmana-cārin.— The theme may have been suggested by the preceding treatise on the *savitṛī*, whose acquisition is an important part of the training of the



1. 2. 15—17. The brahmaudana at the agnyādheya. — Here the GB. begins to address itself more directly to the task of acting as a Brāhmaṇa to the Vait. (5.4; cp. 6.6). Not, as might be expected, is this subject treated here in relation to the conspicuous *brahmaudana*-hymns, AV. 11.1 and 12.3, but with the superficial purpose of correlating the *cātuhprāśya* odana (porridge sufficient for four priests) with the Atharvānic Vedic tetrad, the string upon which the Brāhmaṇa harps in and out of season. After reciting the familiar legend of Aditi who begot the Ādityas by eating the leavings of the *brahmaudana*<sup>5</sup>, the *cātuhprāśya* is correlated with the stereotyped cosmic and liturgic tetrads: the AV. comes in for the tetrad, *āpaḥ*, *candramah*, *brahmatata*, and *brahmatva* (function of the Brahman-priest). This is supported by liturgic explanations of the mantrā *cātvarī śrīgāt* etc. (RV. 4.58.3. et al)<sup>6</sup>, and AV. 10. 10. 2. This is followed by the recommendation, rather striking in an extreme partisan text, that the first fee at the sacrifice be given to an Ātreya priest, descended from the Atri-stock, for the well-known reason that Atri freed the sun from darkness. The passage rubricates AV. 13. 2. 4<sup>7</sup>, 12, and seems to illustrate Vait. 21. 25 (cp. SB. 4. 3 4 21).

1. 2. 18—21. The iron-shod horse at the agnyādheya. — This horse, one of the main requirements of the *agnyādheya* (Vait. 5. 11; SB. 2. 1. 4 16), is produced by Vāc from frightful, gruesome waters. The three Vedas fail to pacify the horse; then Saṃjyu Atharvāna, the *śānti*-principle of the AV.<sup>8</sup>, engages Vicārin, the son of Kabandhi Ātharvāna (cp. 1. 2. 10), who prepares the 'holy water' (*śāntudaka*) by means of 'holy' (*ātharvāna*) and 'witchcraft' (*āṅgīrasa*) plants, and by the recitation of the appropriate lists of mantras<sup>9</sup> (18). The account of the horse is interrupted by an Atharvānic legend concerned with the origin and nature of the Brahman-priest and his assistants (cp. Vait. 11. 3): the latter are stated to be Sadasya, Brāhmaṇa-chaishm, Potar, and Agnīdhra<sup>10</sup> (19). The text returns to the 'fire-footed' horse, explaining why it is called Agni Vaiśvanara in the mantra, *agnim iśāhur vaiśvanaram* (Vait. 6. 7; Glk 1. 2. 21), and to differentiate it from Agni Jātavedas, the fire at the *agnyādheya* itself. The Brāhmaṇa (i. e. the Brahmanic religion)<sup>11</sup> earned Agni Vaiśvanara; the latter created these worlds. Then Agni Jātavedas in rivalry determines to exhibit his brilliancy and force, so that the Brāhmaṇa should carry him also. Jātavedas exhibits his virtues in four different ways; the last time 'he saw Virāḥ, the wife of the Brāhmaṇa', and gave her to him. Then the Brāhmaṇa built Agni Jātavedas; Agni Vaiśvanara, on the other hand, became the horse which frightened the gods, and Brahman (the Brahman-priest) calmed it with the above-mentioned stanza, and with the five stanzas, Vait. 6. 1. Next, ancient Vait. 6. 8, the chariot (*ratha*) is mounted. It originated from the sap (*rasa*) of the Brahman, went to the gods, frightened them, but sundry stanzas appeased it also. Finally reasons are given why cows and gold are presented to the Brahman at the *cātuhprāśya* (Vait. 6. 6).

1. 2. 22—23. The sāmtapana-fire. — From the time of RV. 7. 59. 9 the term *sāmtapana* is associated with the Maruts, being ritualistically tinted from the start. As in Vait. 9. 2 the term appears everywhere in connection with the Maruts at the *sāktamedha*-ceremonies (one of the seasonal sacrifices, *caturmasjagī*)<sup>12</sup>. Here, however, it appears as the name of a fire connected with *Irāma*, the *brahmara*, and the *brahmyam* *haris*. Especially in the Gṛhya-ceremonies (*samśrāntas*) the Brāhmaṇa without the *sāmtapana* suggests to the writer a cled in a pot that does not thence. It would seem as though the single fire of the house-practices, in which a single Brāhmaṇa is engaged,

were here called *sāmtapana*. The subject-matter itself, and the reason for its presence here are far from clear.

1.2.24—1.3.5. Preeminence of the Atharvanic Brahman-priest.— The text returns to its pet theme, the Atharvanic Brahman (cp. Vait. 11.2). An inane legend introduces the cosmic and liturgic tetrads (cp. 1.2.16), designed to shelter the fourth Veda, which figures in the series with *atharv-āṅgīraḥ*, *brahmatva*, *āpaḥ*, *candramāḥ* . . . *om ity atharvaṇaṃ sukram, janat ity āṅgīrasām* (cp. 1.1.20, and above, p.8).

1 SBE. XII, p. 214, 626 ff. — 2 Read, *krodho'paḥ itāghaṃ*, for, *krodhopaḥitāghaṃ*, in the text, p. 23, 1st line. — 3 See ROTI, AV. in Kāschmir, p. 23 — 4 Marked 7 in the edition: the false numbering continues to 14; after that correctly 15, etc. — 5 Cp. TS. 6.5.6.1; MS. 2.1.12; TB. 1.1.9.1. — 6 This liturgic explanation of the mantra is parallel to, yet different from that presented by the scholars at VS. 17.91; TA. 10.10.2; Nr. 13.7. ROTI, AV. in Kāschmir, p. 23, points out that the writing *cātvarī īrūṣ* (GB, p. 34, l. 3) is that of the AVP. Three lines below, however, and at the end of GB. 2.2.6, we have the pratika in the form, *cātvarī īrūṣ*. — 7 See p. 8, and SBE. XII, p. XXI. — 8 Kaus 9; Vait. 5.10ff.; see JAOS. XI. 387 ff.; SBE. XII, p. XVIII. — 9 Later, in passages that betray their origin from ritual-texts of the RV, the Brāhmanacharistis, with Mastrāvaruṇa and Achāvaka, figures as one of the assistants of the Hotar: e. g. 2.4.14. — 10 Cp. SB. 1.4.1.10ff. — 11 WEBER, IS. X 340; HILLEBRANDT, Ritual-Litteratur, p. 117.

§ 73. Third Prapāṭhaka. Various subjects: 1.3.1—5. Preeminence of the Atharvanic Brahman-priest (continued).— In 1.3.1 they that know the *dhṛgvaṅgīrasaḥ* are called *devā brahmanāḥ*, without them the sacrifice limps like a quadruped deprived of its allowance of four feet. Section 1.3.2 continues with an Atharvanic redaction of AB. 5.32.3ff., with this conspicuous difference that the AB. says, *atha kena brahmatvam kryata iti trayya vidya*; but the GB. ascribes the *brahmatvam* to the Atharvan. This is followed in 1.3.3 by expiatory rules when priests break their silence at certain sacrifices. This is again an Atharvanic mouthing over of AB. 5.32.5—33.4, with the difference that the GB. places *om* in front and *janat* after the expiatory formulas *bhūr*, etc.: obviously *om* represents the *atharvānaḥ*, *janat* the *āṅgīrasaḥ* (cp. 1.1.20, 2.24); the other formulas are, as it were, sandwiched in between these. In 1.3.4 the chief services for which the priests receive their fees are recounted after the pattern of AB. 5.34.1ff., those of the Brahman-priest (*devayajanaṃ me 'cikṣad* etc.) are of interest. This is followed (1.3.5) by an inconsequential legend showing how in a sacrifice undertaken with only three priests the fees were reduced by one half.

1.3.6—10. Mystic explanation of the new moon and full-moon sacrifice.— This is an expanded treatment of SB. 11.4.1, giving the impression of direct dependence upon that text. Uddālaka Aruṇi, the son of Gotama, from the country of the Kurupāñcālis, is chosen by his people to go to the Northerners (*udīyan*), where he engages in a *brahmadya* contest with Svādīyana Saunaka, the prize being a necklace. The separate acts of the *darśapūrṇamāsa* are correlated with facts and events in the development of the human body: Hair grows first on the head, later comes the beard and hair on the body; it turns grey first on the head, finally all over the body. Creatures are born toothless, the teeth coming later; they fall out in the seventh or eighth year, grow again, doomed all to fall out in the end. The lower teeth appear first, the upper later on; the lower are narrower and weaker, the upper broader and stronger; etc. The physiological review ends, *kasmād idam sūnam uccaṣa di nūṣpadate kasmād sakṛd (?) sakṛd apānam (?)*. A specimen of the correlation of these facts with the practices at the *darśapūrṇamāsa* is as follows: Because the sacrificial straw (*karṣi*) is first spread

16. 6. — <sup>3</sup> The majority of the mss. at Vait. present them in an abbreviated (*galita*) form.

§ 74. Fourth Prapāṭhaka. Mystic-theosophic exposition of the *sattra* of the year.—The dependence of this long and elaborate theme of GB. upon book 12 of SB. has been stated above, § 66. It extends through the fourth and fifth prapāṭhakas, with the exception of the last three sections (23—25) of the fifth. The first 6 sections = SB. 12. 1. 1, deal with the *dikṣā* of the 16 *Srauta*-priests — the 17<sup>th</sup>, the *sadasya*, is not mentioned (cp. Vait. 31. 1 and 11. 3). This is followed (7, 8) by a mythical derivation of the various *īffis* and other acts of the *agnistoma* from the divinities supposed to correspond to them, and an account of the rewards attending these ceremonies; the *agnistoma* figures here as one of the main features of the *viśuvat* day of the *sattra* of the year<sup>1</sup>, as well as many other days: see SB. 12. 1. 2. 1 and 12. 1. 3. 1—7, and cp. Vait. 11—17. The next two sections (9, 10) derive the separate parts and ceremonies of the normal *sattra*, the *garjāmana*, from gods and divine personifications, with attendant rewards: see SB. 12. 1. 2. 2, 3 and 12. 1. 3. 8—22, and cp. Vait. 31. 7ff. Next, two sections (11, 12) correlate the *sattra* and certain of its parts with the year: see SB. 12. 2. 3. 1. Then five sections (13—17) discuss the parts of the *sattra* from the point of view of the *mahāvratā*-days<sup>2</sup>: see SB. 12. 1. 3. 23 and 12. 2. 3. 2—4, 8. The discussion winds up with an expanded statement of SB. 12. 2. 3. 4: the position of the *abhiplava* in the *sattra* between two *prithvī* is correlated with certain facts of ordinary life. Two sections (18, 19), essentially the same as SB. 12. 3. 3. 6, 7, compare the *sattra*-year with the wings of a great eagle, the *risurat*-day in the middle being, as it were, the body of the eagle. Next (20 = SB. 12. 2. 2. 1) the character of the *yoṭh* (*yoṭistoma*) as part of the *abhiplava* is discussed. Then follow two sections (21, 22 = SB. 12. 2. 3. 10, 11) with an account of the ascending and descending scale of the festival-divisions of the *sattra*-year, the *risurat*-day in the middle<sup>3</sup>, the second part of this account is then (23) supported by a legend of the contest between the *Ādityas* and *Angīras*<sup>4</sup> which is worked up rather differently in SB. 12. 2. 2. 9—12. This is dangerous ground for the GB. to venture upon, since the legends of the struggles between the *Ādityas* and *Angīras* regularly exhibit the latter in the position of vanquished victims, similar to the *Asuras* in their struggles with the *Devas*; that, of course, is contrary to the spirit of the GB. where the *Angīras* are especially revered. The mere appearance of such a legend in this text betrays its secondary origin, but for the fact that it does not in this instance present the *Angīras* in too pronounced a position of disadvantage, it would be intolerable here. The prapāṭhaka is concluded (24 = SB. 12. 2. 13—23) with a theological discourse (*brahmōtīa*) between Preṭh (SB. Proti) Kauśimbeya Kausuravindu and his teacher Uddilaka Aruni in which the sacrifice, the year, as the single one (*ekam*), is said to consist of respectively ten, nine, eight, etc. days (*ahani*). Very neat is the turn given by the GB. to the relation of the year with the number four. Whereas the SB. establishes this relation through the four-footed cattle, the GB. does not neglect to clinch its oft-repeated assertion that the Veda is fourfold: *caturō vai vedaī catur jāñās āhate*. It is not possible to doubt that GB. presents the secondary version of the two.

<sup>1</sup> Vait. 31. 10; KŚ 13. 2. 7. — <sup>2</sup> See HILLEBRANDT, *Ritual-Literatur*, p. 137. — <sup>3</sup> WEBER, *Nakṣatra*, II. 252, note; HILLEBRANDT, l. c.; cp. Vait. 31. 14. — <sup>4</sup> Cp. WEBER, *IS*, I. 201 ff.; *Episches im vedischen Ritual*, p. 46.

§ 75. Fifth Prapāṭhaka: 1. 5. 1—22. Exposition of the *sattra* of the year concluded.—The first section = SB. 12. 2. 2. 12, deals with the



*abhiplava*, normally of six days, in mystic variations which enable it to embrace from five days to one. Next (2 = ŚB. 12. 2. 1. 1—9) comes a phase of the *sattra* called *gādhapratisthā*; and then three sections in which the *sattra* and its parts are correlated with the cosmic man (*puruṣa*) and his members (3 = ŚB. 12. 1. 4. 1 ff.; 4 = ŚB. 12. 2. 4. 1 ff.; 5 = ŚB. 12. 3. 2. 1 ff.). In these sections the GB. exhibits a good deal of independence; especially the two śloka in section 5 differ considerably from those in ŚB. 12. 3. 2. 6, 7: they occur nowhere else in the published literature. Then (6 = ŚB. 12. 3. 5. 12—13) comes a statement of the identical grouping and numerical relation of the main events of the two *sattra* half-years on either side of the *viśuvat*-day, which differs from those made in Vait. 31. 15; GB. 1. 5. 23.

At this point (7) the text introduces a *yajñākrama* stating the so-called *hariryajña* or *iṣṭi*, and the soma-sacrifices (*somasamsthāh*). It coincides with the order followed in the Vait. only up to the first of the soma-festivals, the *agniśoma*<sup>1</sup>. Nor does this *yajñākrama*, or that exhibited practically in Vait., coincide with that stated farther on, GB. 1. 5. 23. The latter coincides almost perfectly with the classical *yajñākrama*, as reported on the authority of Gautama's Dharmasūtra 8. 19, 20<sup>2</sup>; the present account is more or less independent of all other known statements. This *yajñākrama* is merely a stepping-stone to the glorification of the *sahasradakṣiṇa*-sacrifice (8). Prajāpati performs all ceremonies in the order of the *yajñākrama*, obtaining only perishable results (*antan*), but when he follows up a *sattra* with the *sahasradakṣiṇa* he obtains imperishable results. The two sections bear every mark of secondary construction in behalf of Vait. 34. 21.

In renewed touch with ŚB, section 9 of GB. = ŚB. 12. 3. 5. 3—11 advises those that are devoting themselves to the *sattra* (*samatsarasamsadaḥ*) to keep intact the other sacrifices, *agnihotra*, etc., which ordinarily would claim their attention. Next (10 = ŚB. 12. 3. 3. 1 ff.) there is a legend, in illustration of Vait. 42. 18, about the impossible *sattra* of a 1000 years<sup>3</sup>, for which the *vitvajit* is substituted: the GB. characteristically substitutes five Vedas (*ṛci*, *yajusī*, *sāmni*, *tānte* = *atharvaṇi*, and *ghore* = *āṅgīraṣi*) for the three Vedas, ŚB. 12. 3. 3. 24. Sections 11—20 expand considerably the subject of the three daily *savanas*, as treated in ŚB. 12. 3. 4. 1 ff. The GB. manages to import a good many Atharvan traits: in 11, à propos of *vidvāṁśaḥ*, the fourth (Brahman) priest is described in almost the same words as Kauś. 9.4. 3, 4. The four formulas, *mayi bhargah* ... *mayi sarvam*, are correlated in ŚB 12. 3. 4. 6—9 with three cosmic-liturgic forms, including the *trayī vidyā* and an indefinite fourth corresponding to *sarvam*, namely, *ye anye lohās* (*devās*, *vedās*, *prāṇās*) *taś sarvam*; the GB. changes this into a definite tetrad, so as to provide amply for an Atharvanic cosmos (*āpaḥ*, *caudramāḥ*, etc.) in relation to the formula *mayi sarvam* (*sarvavidyā* = *brāhmadevā*): see sections 15 and 19. Very noteworthy is the original version of the three formulas at the three *savanas* (12—14)<sup>5</sup>: the passage GB. 11—20 offers perhaps the most conspicuous instance of the manner in which this text, though removed by an almost immeasurable distance from the original springs of Śrauta-tradition, yet manages to adapt existing materials to its all-absorbing purpose, the glorification of the Atharvan. At this point (21) a legend introducing Dadhyaṇc Āṅgīraṣa, not found in ŚB, correlates the formulas, *om śrāvaya*, etc., containing 17 syllables, with the year, or Prajāpati, or the sacrifice<sup>6</sup>, and then leads up to the *pravara*, the invitation of the manes, Vait. 2. 15; the very words of that text as also the citation (AV. 6. 123. 3—5) are repeated in GB. The subject is concluded (22 = ŚB 12. 3. 5. 11) with the *savitrapaśu* (cp. Vait. 22. 10).

§ 76. Fifth Prapāthaka: 1. 5. 23—25. Metrical treatise on the sacrifice. — The last three sections of the Pūrva-Brāhmaṇa lack a certain unity of structure, which makes it possible to imagine that they are not from the same hand. First (23) there is the ordinary *yajñākrama*; its account of the *haviṛyajña* and *somasamsthāh* (*sutyah*) coincides with Gaut. Dh. 8. 19, 20; the *pakavajña* accord with the wording and order of Satyavrata Sāmīnami in the Hindu Journal Ushā<sup>7</sup>. The apparent derivation here of the *yajñākrama* from schools of the SV. may lend significance to the presence in this section of ślokas that are paralleled by the Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa, also a Sīman-text. The rest of the section consists of questions and answers (*brahmadīa*) devoted to the time-divisions of the sacrificial year. One of the stanzas is identical with Vait. 31. 15. Another (p. 85, l. 17) occurs in a variant form in Jaim. Br. 2. 73<sup>8</sup>; yet another stanza, Jaim. Br. 2. 71<sup>9</sup>, exhibits a certain relationship with that beginning GB, p. 85, l. 13. The next section (24) contains a cosmogonic Atharvanic account of the origin of the sacrifice. Vaiśvānara heated with *tapas*, desiring offspring, pours semen into Śraddhā. From this union the world-conquering son-toothed Angiras is born. Then the resulting four Vedas<sup>10</sup> are described: 'The holy Atharvan and Angiras praise with *prāyaścittas* and *bhṛṣajās*'. Next follows a list of the 17 Śrauta-priests, divided into four Vedic groups<sup>11</sup>, to which are added four other functionaries, the wife at the sacrifice (*dikṣitā patnī*), the butcher (*śamītar*), the householder (*grhapatī*), and lastly Angiras himself. The last section (25) is the final apotheosis of the Atharvan. After stating that all the 21 orthodox sacrifices, both of the present and of yore, resolve themselves in the Angiras, the text enters once more upon an elaborate cosmic tetrad in behalf of the AV., similar to, yet somewhat different from the preceding ones<sup>12</sup>. The final outcome of the cosmogony is the sacrifice protected (*gupta*<sup>13</sup>) by the Atharvan. In addition to the regular sacrifice the formulas and offerings of the village<sup>14</sup> and forest also resolve themselves in the Angiras, and, finally, the Atharvan secures the heaven of Brahma, whereas the *trāis viduḥ* can only procure the *tristūpam tridivam nākam ullaṃam*.

<sup>7</sup> See GARBE, Vaitāna Sūtra, Translation, p. 11. — <sup>8</sup> WEBER, IN. X. 326, MAX MÜLLER, ZDMG, IN. p. LVIII, SBE XXX. 357 ff., HILLEBRANDT, *ibid* p. 41 — <sup>9</sup> WEBER, IN. XIII. 336, HILLEBRANDT, *ibid* p. 158 — <sup>10</sup> See above, p. 8. — <sup>11</sup> See above, § 66, end — <sup>12</sup> Cp. GB, 1. 3. 10, 5. 10. 12 & 3. 3 — <sup>13</sup> MAX MÜLLER, above, § 66, end — <sup>14</sup> Cp. GB, 1. 3. 10, 5. 10. 12 & 3. 3 — <sup>15</sup> The *soma* *amsthāh* coincide also with AS. 6. 11. 1, KS. 10. 9. 28 — <sup>16</sup> For *ut āyatam* *asmi prāyācīti* *gr̥he*, *agrite* *āre* *neve* *āśī* *trāis*, *saṁ* *sahā* *rāṇi* *darśa* *datt*, *etā* *in* *āsmi* *śarama* *prāyācīti* — <sup>17</sup> *ay'to* *etā* *na* *at* *ay* *bhāzanti*, *ahvā* *trāyāṃ* *parivāraṇa* *āh* *ar* *asmi* *sa* *ar* *āṇi* *trāis* *ca*, *śā* *ar* *trāis* *ca* *parivāraṇi* *ca* *sur* *ce*. — <sup>18</sup> The SV. is alluded to with the probably late expression *śimughṛa* 'noise of the Sīman', as in the Ughva and Dharmasūtras. — <sup>19</sup> The *sūktāṇi* is included this time among the Atharvans, cp. GB. 1. 4. 1—6, Vait. 11. 3. — <sup>20</sup> E. g. in 1. 5. 15 and 19. — <sup>21</sup> Cp. the *gṛāyā*, GB. 1. 1. 13 — <sup>22</sup> Cp. the *grāmāyājaka*, etc., SBE. XLII, p. VI, note.

## C. CONTENTS OF THE UTTARA-BRĀHMAṆA (THE YAIÑĀKRAMA').

§ 77. First Prapāthaka: 2. 1. 1—12. The new and full-moon offerings. — The first section deals with three points, the purification of the Brahman's seat; the fetching of the *pranīd*-water, and the placing of the *paridhī*-ticks around the fire. The first two themes are borrowed literally from KB. 6. 13, except for two characteristic touches. The formula, *idam aham arjāyāsoh aham arjāyāsoh* etc., appears in its Atharvanic form, *idam aham arjāyāsoh* etc. (Kau. 3. 7; 137. 59); and for, *bṛhaspatir* *As* *ri* *dā* *as* *brāhm*, in KB, the GB. reads, *bṛhaspatir* *is* *ā* *g* *ra*, unto the greater glory of the

Āṅgīrasa-Veda. The statement about the *praṇīṣa*-water, Vait. 2. 2, coincides with both GB. and KIL, whereas that which concerns the *paridhīs* (Vait. 2. 8, 13) does not appear in KB, but seems to be original with GB. The next three sections (3—4) deal with the *prāṣṭra*-food, Vait. 3. 7 ff., beginning with the *prāṣṭra*-legend: Rudra being refused a share of the sacrifice cut off a portion of it, the *prāṣṭra*. This is given successively to Bhaga whom it makes blind; to Savitar whom it makes handless (and subsequently golden-handed); to Pūṣan whom it makes a toothless eater of gruel; to Idhma Āṅgīrasa who loses by it his head; to Varū (Barhi) Āṅgīrasa whose body is disjointed by it; finally to Bhāspati Āṅgīrasa (the typical Brahman-priest) who recites mantras over it that render it harmless. Idhma Āṅgīrasa echoes the well-known legend of Dadhyañe Ātharvana or Āṅgīrasa<sup>4</sup>. Neither Idhma nor Barhi are mentioned elsewhere, being clap-trap personifications; the three Āṅgīrasas who figure here indicate the working over of the legend into an Atharvanic mould. The last half of section 3 corresponds closely to KIL 6. 14; section 4 to TS. 2. 6. 9. Next, individual points of the *darśapūrṇamāsa* are treated: the prohibition of the *daśyā*, because the *amāśārya*-porridge is the ordained fee at these sacrifices<sup>5</sup> (5); the next section (6), *ā* propos of the *anvāhārya*, is borrowed almost literally from MS. 1. 4. 6 (p. 54, 1. 3 ff.); then (7) the *amāśārya* is described as Prajāpati's share, the point being illustrated by the legend of the gods' sacrifice to Prajāpati, whereas the Asuras sacrificed into one another's mouths<sup>6</sup>. The need of performing the *darśapūrṇamāsa* before entering upon the soma-sacrifice is urged in section 8; an expiatory act on the rise of the moon when the priest is about to cook for the evening-offering is the theme of section 9<sup>7</sup>; the mystic description of the *pūru* and *uttara pūrṇamāsa* and *amāśārya* is copied literally from Kauṣ. 1. 29, 30, and defined further in section 10. The rule that only one of the two full-moon and new-moon days shall be chosen (11) is copied almost verbatim, with shocking blunders on the part of the edited text, from TS. 2. 5. 5. 2 ff. Finally (12) certain oblations to Agni-Viṣṇu, and to Sarasvatī and Sarasvat, preparatory to the *darśapūrṇamāsa*, are described in accordance with Vait. 8. 1, 2<sup>8</sup>.

2. 1. 13—16. Kāmyeṣṭayah. — The next three sections (13—15) deal with sacrifices for the fulfilment of special wishes. The Vait. has nothing to correspond; they are, indeed, an almost verbatim copy of MS. 2. 1. 10<sup>9</sup>. Section 16 is the Brāhmana of Vait. 11. 1 (beginning of the *agniṣṭoma*), in verbal agreement with Glk: he that wishes to perform a soma-sacrifice shall offer a freed steer (*usram anuṣṭam*) to Indra-Agni, in case his father and grandfather had not made a soma-sacrifice in their life-time. Since the theme is treated out of order it was perhaps conceived as a *kāmyeṣṭi*.

2. 1. 17—26. Āgrāyana; agnicayana; and cāturmāsyaṇi. — The offering of the first fruits of the season (17) begins with the usual legend explaining the libations to Agni-Indra, the Viśve Devāḥ, and Soma<sup>10</sup>; otherwise the treatment corresponds closely to Vait. 8. 3—7. Judging from the mention, at the end, of the Atharvanic *purastāddhoma* and *samsthīthadhoma* (Kauṣ. 3. 19; Vait. 1. 4, etc.) this seems to be a somewhat original Brāhmana. In section 18 the text, apparently without reason, undertakes a salto mortale into the *agnicayana*-ceremony, describing the use of the *apratiratha*-hymn in its Atharvan version (AV. 19. 13) at that ceremony. The Brāhmana illustrates Vait. 29. 16, and is almost identical with MS. 3. 3. 7 (p. 40, 1. 2 ff.); cp. also SB. 9. 2. 3. 1—5. The irregularity is the more marked because the next sections deal with the *cāturmāsyaṇi* which in Vait. 8 follow immediately upon the *āgrāyana*. The remaining sections of this *prapāṣhaka* (19—26) deal with the

seasonal offerings; they are, as has been shown above (p. 102), taken from KB., and call for no further comment.

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 116. — <sup>2</sup> Cp. KB. 6. 13, 14; ŚB. 1. 7. 4. 5 ff; TS. 2. 6. 8; RAJENDRALĀLA MIKKA, *Introd.* p. 29 ff. — <sup>3</sup> Cp. especially, TS. 2. 6. 8. 5 ff. — <sup>4</sup> WEBER, *IS.* I. 290, 354. — <sup>5</sup> Vait. 3. 19; cp. *IS.* 1. 7. 3. 3; ŚB. 1. 2. 3. 5. — <sup>6</sup> Vait. 3. 20; cp. *IS.* 1. 7. 3. 4. — <sup>7</sup> Very similar to TS. 2. 5. 5. 1 ff; cp. KB. 4. 2. — <sup>8</sup> Cp. AB. 1. 1; ŚB. 3. 1. 3. 1. — <sup>9</sup> Cp. TS. 2. 2. 2. 1; KB. 4. 3. — <sup>10</sup> Cp. ŚB. 2. 4. 3.

§ 78. Second Prapāthaka: 2. 2. 1—4. The *tanūnaptra*-ceremony of the agniṣṭoma.—The first section opens in a rather perplexing manner with certain *kāmyeṣṭis* in which quadrupeds and birds are sacrificed by him that has built the holy fire (*ahitāgni*) in order to gain some special wish.<sup>1</sup> It interrupts the *yajñākrama* of Vait., which in chapter 10 deals with the *pśubandha*, unless the GB. regards this as a note on that very ceremony. Then (2—4) the text turns to the *tanūnaptra*, beginning with the legend in TS. 6. 2. 2. 1 almost verbatim.<sup>2</sup> Then comes the ceremony proper, again in close touch with TS., but with an Atharvānic improvement or two; e. g., the GB. substitutes *manas* (representing the Brahman-priest) for *prāna* in TS. The numerous mantras, however, accord in the main with Vait. (13. 16 ff.) rather than TS.<sup>3</sup> Apparently the GB. embellishes the acts of the Sūtra with the Brāhmaṇa of TS., without drawing upon independent tradition.

2. 2. 5—6. The *pravargya*-ceremony.—Section 5 again interrupts the *yajñākrama* of Vait. by one of those disquisitions on defects in the sacrifice which lead up to the glorification of the *bhṛgvaṅgīroviḍ*, it may have been thought suitable here because of the *yajñ* legend in section 6. The discussion is based upon the word *malha*, introduced in the statement, *malhā ity etad yajñanamadheyaṃ*, which is the language of the Naighantukas.<sup>4</sup> This section is almost certainly later than Yaska; sundry Pāṇinīya-slokas also point to a very late date. Then comes the *pravargya*<sup>5</sup> (6), beginning with the usual myth, copied almost verbatim from AB. 1. 18 (cp. also AB. 1. 4. 9). The performance and the mantras accord in the main with Vait. 13. 25 ff. with which GB. at times agrees almost verbally (e. g. 13. 26, 30). The Vait. (14. 1) quotes the *gharma*-hymn from AVP in full, the GB. cites it by *pratika* (*gharmam tapāmi*). Certainly GB. presupposes the Sūtra.

2. 2. 7—12. The *upasad*-days, and continuation of the agniṣṭoma.—Sections 7 and 8 deal with the legend and general matters pertaining to the *upasads*<sup>6</sup>; the legend is treated with some degree of independence.<sup>7</sup> Section 9 joins Vait. 15. 3 in the same recital of the divine women (*devagatyaś*), both texts differ from the similar statements, *Ms.* 1. 9. 2, *TA* 3. 9. 11.<sup>8</sup> Section 10 is the Brāhmaṇa of Vait. 16. 5, partly in verbal agreement the source of the legendary explanation of the 33 'forms of the sacrifice' (*yajñakṛmṣu*) is unknown.<sup>9</sup> Section 11, in verbal agreement with Vait. 16. 6, prescribes how the soma-sacrifice of a rival may be frustrated.<sup>10</sup> Section 12 is the Brāhmaṇa of Vait. 16. 15—17, dealing with expiations for the overflow of the soma: the two texts agree verbally. The mantras of Vait. 16. 17 are quoted fragmentarily in GB. with explanatory remarks, quite as though the Vait. were in this instance the *Samhitā* of GB.

2. 2. 13—15. The *stomabhāga*-mantras.<sup>11</sup>—Section 13 begins with the legend of their origin, substantially the same as TS. 3. 5. 2. 1, except that GB. omits very significantly the statement, *asmāi vānśtho brahmā karāṭ*, which is, of course, contrary to the doctrine of the Atharvān ritualists. The mantras in the sequel differ from those in Vait. and TS., but section 14 shares with Vait. 17. 16 the list of Atharvān *ṛkhytis* (cp. GB. 1. 3. 3), and

prescribes the use of *om* and *janat*, one on each side of the ordinary ones (e. g., *om bhūr janat*), for the purpose of protection (*ṛgbbhir aobhayato 'thar-angirebbhir guṣṭābbhir'*)<sup>12</sup>. The expression *apa' gā* 'cease to sing' occurs only here and at Vait. 17. 4. Section 15, illustrating Vait. 17. 7, dwells upon the value of the *stomalhōgas* in overcoming the simultaneous sacrifice of a rival: the two texts share the long mantra, *stutse* etc. The Brāhmana, though making some show of independence, is later than the Sūtra. In continued touch with Vait., section 16 deals with the distribution of the *agnūdhra*-fire at the close of the *bahisṣavamāna*, with the same *praiṣas* in both texts (Vait. 17. 12—18. 1; cp. ŚB. 4. 2. 5. 11). Section 17, anent Vait. 18. 5 (cp. TS. 3. 1. 10. 1), deals with the *pravyāhūtis*, oblations on choosing the priests; sections 18, 19 (Vait. 18. 11—15) with the practices about the *sadas*. The mantra, *dhiṣṇyebhyo namo namaḥ*, Vait. 18. 11, is alluded to fragmentarily in GB., as though the Vait. occupied the place of a Samhitā. A propos of Vait. 19. 6, sections 20—22 describe the Hotar-priest's oblations with the *prasthita*-cups at the three *savanas*. Since the Hotar is a Rigvedin these sections are purloined bodily from the AB. 6. 10; 6. 11. 6ff.; and 6. 12. 6ff. The prapāthaka ends with two seemingly inconsequential sections (23, 24), the first of which is again taken up with the explanation of the terms *vicakṣanātati vāc*, and *canasitatati vāc* (see 1. 3. 19); the last surprisingly bounds back to the *darsapūrnāmāsa*, urging the engagement of the gods (*parigrhnyāt*) on the first of the new-moon and full-moon days, because these sacrifices are *satya*, i. e., undertaken by many at the same time<sup>13</sup>. The section seems to be the Brāhmana of Vait. 1. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Vait. 43. 32, 33; ŚB. 11. 7. 1. 2; ApŚ. 7. 28. 8; MS. 2. 5. 11. — <sup>2</sup> Cp. AB. 1. 24; ŚB. 3. 4. 2. 1 ff.; MS. 3. 7. 10. See WELER, IS. X. 362; HILLEBRANDT, Ritual-Litteratur, p. 127. — <sup>3</sup> But, *anobhūstanyam it*, in Gl. 3, accords with TS. 6. 2. 4: the Vait. 13. 18 has *anobhūstah*. — <sup>4</sup> Yaska's Nigh. 3. 17; Kautsavaya 45; cp. PAOS, October 1890, p. xivm ff. — <sup>5</sup> HAUG, AL, Translation, p. 41, note 1; WEBER, IS. IX. 218—20; HILLEBRANDT, l. c. p. 127, 134 ff. — <sup>6</sup> WELER, IS. X. 363 ff.; HILLEBRANDT, l. c. 127. — <sup>7</sup> Cp. ŚB. 3. 4. 3 ff.; AB. 1. 23; KB. 8. 8; TS. 6. 2. 3; MS. 3. 8. 1. — <sup>8</sup> BLOOMFIELD, ZDMG. XLVIII. 549. — <sup>9</sup> Cp. GARBE, Vait., Translation, 16. 5, note. Gl. is cited by the scholiast to Pan. 3. 4. 16. — <sup>10</sup> See the remark on 1. 3. 19, above, § 73, note 7. — <sup>11</sup> Vait. 17. 4 ff.; TS. 3. 5. 2; MS. 2. 8. 8; ŚB. 8. 5. 3; PB. 1. 9. 1 ff. — <sup>12</sup> Cp. above under 1. 3. 3. — <sup>13</sup> See the note on 1. 3. 19.

§ 79. Third Prapāthaka: 2. 3. 1—11. Agniṣṭoma continued: the *vaṣaṭkāra* and *anuvaṣaṭkāra*; *ṛtugrahas*; etc.—By way of illustrating Vait. 19. 8—12 which deals with the *vaṣaṭkāra* and *anuvaṣaṭkāra* (acts of the Hotar) sections 1—6 of Gl. present with slight modifications AB. 3. 5—3. 8. Yaska, Nirukta 8. 22, also presents the opening of AB. 3. 8. 1; GB. 2. 3. 4 in a form different from each, but it is not necessary in this instance to credit him with independent tradition any more than GB.; both have mouthed over the text of AB. The second part of section 6 (Vait. 19. 18, 19) explains the blessing on drinking the soma, reproducing with verbal changes AB. 7. 33. 5ff. Sections 7, 8 treat the *ṛtugrahas* (Vait. 20. 2): section 7 is partly identical with and wholly similar to AB. 2. 29; section 8 in part corresponds to AB. 6. 14. 5<sup>1</sup>. Section 9 presents a legendary explanation of the sound *him* (Vait. 20. 15, 16), being written in good archaic Brāhmana-language<sup>2</sup>, and deriving some interesting illustrations from every-day life. A closely similar passage has not been found<sup>3</sup>: it may have been derived from a Sāman-source with Atharvanic adaptations (*himpṛtyātharvāno brahmatīam kurvanti*). Section 10, dealing with the *āhava* and *pratigara*-formulas<sup>4</sup> (Vait. 20. 15ff.), is copied almost verbatim from AB. 3. 12 (cp. KB. 14. 3), excepting that the formulas themselves are quoted in the spelling of Vait which differs from that of all the

other texts<sup>5</sup>. Section 11, illustrating Vait. 21. 3, 4, is copied with slight alterations from Kk. 11. 4 and 5, including the expression, *iti ha smāha kauṣītāhī*, which leaves no doubt as to its origin: cp. above, p. 102.

2. 3. 12—19. The *prātaḥsavana* of the *ekāha*.—Section 12 begins with a legend, similar to AB. 3. 14, in which Prajāpati while performing an (*agnisoma*)-sacrifice encounters Death whom he drives step by step from one of the *śastras* and *stotras* of the *agnisoma* to the other. Sections 13—15 account for the three *śastras* (following the *ajya* and *prāṇa*) of the three assistants of the Hotar, the Maitrāvaruna, Brāhmanācchanisīn, and Achāvāka<sup>6</sup>; these sections bear upon Vait. 20. 14. Although they contain many mantras which ought to guide to parallel chapters in other Brāhmaṇa-texts this is not the case; they seem original with GB, patterned perhaps after some RV.-sūtra (cp. SS. 12. 1 ff.). Thus the mantra, *ayam u ha tīcarsane* (RV. 8. 17. 7 = AV. 20. 5. 1) is not quoted outside of Vait. 21. 2 and GB. 2. 3. 14; *indra pida pratikāmanī sutasya* (RV. 10. 112. 1) only in GB. 2. 3. 14. Section 16 motivates by a Brāhmaṇa, which again seems independent, the fourfold use of the *āhāra* (*śamsārem*) of the *prātaḥsavana* in relation to Vait. 20. 15 (cp. GB. 2. 4. 4 and 18). Sections 17—19 deal with the *duṣṭina*, the order in which it should be given to the priests, and the materials of which it shall consist (cp. Vait. 21. 24—22. 2): they are an almost verbatim copy of MS. 4. 8. 3.

2. 3. 20—2. 4. 4. The *mādhyamīnasavana* of the *ekāha*.—The subject is treated in the main in the order of Vait, borrowing considerably from AB, but, as in the case of the *prātaḥsavana*, some chapters seem to be original with GB. Sections 20, 21, reproducing almost literally AB. 3. 23, present the legend of the union of Sī (the Rk) with Ama (the Sāman), resulting in the junction of three *reas* to produce one *saman*, etc. (cp. Vait. 22. 8). Section 22, reproducing AB. 3. 24, deals with the *stotriya*, *anurūpa*, *dhāyā*, *pragātha*, and *nirūda* of the *nisketāya śastra*, and bears upon Vait. 22. 10—12<sup>7</sup>. Section 23 presents a legendary account of Indra's exclusive right to the *nisketāya-śastra* at the midday-pressure of the soma 'In the beginning there was but one soma-pressure, in the morning. Then Prajāpati created the midday-pressure for his eldest son Indra'. The legend is quite different from that told AB. 3. 24. 10 ff. (cp. Kk. 15. 4), it is original, if we may trust the quotation of the mantra RV. 7. 98. 5 = AV. 20. 87. 3, as this is not mentioned in any other text, not even the Vaitāna.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. also Kk. 13. 9. — <sup>6</sup> Cp. the sigmatic aorist *aurāṣi*, p. 127, 1. 3. —

<sup>7</sup> Cp. 18. 6. 4. 11. 3—4. — <sup>8</sup> HILLEBRANDT, 1. c. 101 ff. — <sup>9</sup> T. g. *adh-aryo śamsārem*, Vait. 20. 18, (GB here and 2. 4. 4. *adh-aryo sūmanā* Kk. 19. 6. 26, *adh-aryo śamsārem* Kk. 14. 3; SS. 7. 10. 6. *adh-aryo śamsārem* AB. 3. 12. 3, AV. 5. 14. 3; ApS. 12. 27. 12. — <sup>10</sup> See WHITE, 1. c. 351. The strictly Alharvanic division of the 17 Śruti-priests does not assign the Brāhmanācchanisīn to the Hoitakas, but makes him an assistant of the Prāhman. see Vait. 11. 3; GB. 1. 4. 6. — <sup>11</sup> The word *prātaḥ* 'veiled' does not occur outside of GB and Vait. (22. 12).

§ 80. Fourth Prapāṣhaka: 2. 4. 1—4. The *mādhyamīnasavana* concluded.—The *mādhyamīna* is continued in sections 1—3 with an account of the *stotriya*, *anurūpa*, *pragātha*, etc., of the three Hotrakas (cp. 2. 3. 13—15). They are based upon AS. 7. 4. 1 ff.; SS. 7. 22—24, worked over slightly into Brāhmaṇa-form. Section 4 accounts for the five-fold use of the *āhāra* of the *mādhyamīna* (*adh-aryo śamsārem*): the Brāhmaṇa seems original; cp. GB. 2. 3. 16 and 2. 4. 18.

2. 4. 5—18. The *trītiya-savana* of the *ekāha*.—Continuing in the order of Vait., section 5 illustrates the *prātaḥ-savana* (Vait. 22. 3), and the

consumption of the Agnidhra's share in the lap of the Neṣṭar (Vait. 25. 5). The Brāhmana is borrowed from AB. 6. 3. 8—11<sup>2</sup>. Section 6 illustrates the offerings of shavings (Vait. 23. 12); the scattering of barley-grains in the *āhavanīya*-fire (Vait. 23. 13); the pouring of the soma-cups west of the *cātvalāpits* (Vait. 23. 14); the Brāhmana is borrowed from KB. 18. 7 and 8. Section 7 deals with the purification of the sacrificer, and is similar to, yet different from Vait. 23. 22. The mantras, *abhūd devah*, and the *drapsavatyah* (sc. *reali*) occur in both Vait. and GB; but instead of the Paippalāda-hymn, *jat te grāvā*, of the Vait., the GB. has *saṃnibhiḥ*<sup>3</sup> (sc. *ṛgbhiḥ*): the Brāhmana seems to be derived from an unknown Srauta-source. Section 8, illustrating Vait. 24. 15, 16, describes the burning up of the *vedi* and the offering of grits (*saktuhoma*): TS. 3. 3. 8. 2 ff. presents a fairly close parallel. That the TS. is in fact its source seems likely, because the next section (9) interrupts the order of the Vait., yet is also derived from the same chapter of TS. Section 9 begins with a rite on the *ekāstakā*-day bearing, out of order, on Vait. 31. 4, 5, and being a continuation of the Brāhmana in TS. 3. 3. 8. 4—6, which is copied almost literally. But at the end the section returns to the order of Vait. (24. 14), describing the *agnisamāropana* (cp. TS. 3. 4. 10. 4). Section 10 deals with the relation of the three *savanas* to the day and their symbolic connection with the three main positions of the sun: it is borrowed from AB. 3. 44.

At this point the GB. turns to the *śastras* of the *trītyasavana*, in a treatment analogous to that of the first two *savanas* (2. 3. 12—19, and 2. 3. 30—2. 4. 4). Sections 11—14 introduce a legend, elsewhere unknown in this form. The gods Indra, Agni, Varuna, Bṛhaspati, and Viṣṇu prevented the Asuras from entering the evening twilight, and thus ruining the *śastras* of the evening. Agni changes into a horse (*aśva*) and enters the conflict first; hence the *sākamāśva-sāman* heads the *śastras* at the *trītya-savana*<sup>4</sup>. The five gods, engaged in the conflict, are identified respectively with *iāc*, *prāṇa*, *manas*, *cakṣus*, *śretra*, and through these '*prāṇas*' with Prajāpati; reasons are assigned why they are praised at the *trītyasavana*. Finally, these gods, barring Agni who has been provided for in the *sākamāśva*, are distributed among the *śastras* of the three Hotrakas: Indrā-Varuna with the Maitrā-varuna; Indrā-Bṛhaspati with the Brāhmanācchanāsin; and Indrā-Viṣṇu with the Achāvāka<sup>5</sup>. The next three sections (15—17) state the mantras for the *uktha*, *stotriya*, *anurūpa*, etc., of the Hotrakas, being based upon Rig-Vedic sources (cp. AS. 6. 1. 2; ŚS. 9. 2—4). Section 18 concludes the *agnistoma* with an account of the fourfold *āhava* of the *trītyasavana* (*adhvario samāsanīśāzom*) which seems original, like the parallel sections 2. 3. 16, and 2. 4. 4.

2. 4. 19. The *śodāśin*-sacrifice.—Section 19 concludes the prapāṭhaka with a brief explanation of this sacrifice, thus returning to the order of Vait. (25. 12). The Brāhmana is borrowed from AB. 4. 1. 5—8.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. AB. 3. 12. 3; KB. 14. 3 — <sup>3</sup> WEPER, IS. X. 370; HILFFRANZ, I. G. 133. — <sup>4</sup> Cp. Ap. 13. 20. 8. — <sup>5</sup> Cp. AB. 3. 49; TB. 8. 8. 1—5. — <sup>6</sup> Cp. AB. 3. 50; FB. 8. 8. 6, 7.

§ 81. Fifth Prapāṭhaka: 2. 5. 1—5. The *atirātra*-performances.—These continue the order of Vait., chapter 26: the GB. is patched together out of passages of AB. and KB. (cp. above, p. 102). Section 1, almost identical with AB. 4. 5, explains the origin of the *atirātra* as typifying the expulsion of the Asuras out of the night by Indra and the metres, his allies; the three periods (*farjayas*) represent the successive acts of expulsion from the first part of the night, midnight, and the last part of the night. Section 2,

borrowed from AB. 4. 6. 4—7, explains the advantages of the *śaṣtras* at the three *pariyayas* (Vait. 26. 3). Section 3, borrowed from AB. 4. 6. 8—14, explains how the *paramāṇa-śaṣtras*, which properly belong to the day alone, are also provided for the night; it also explains other features of the *atīrātra* that are patterned after the soma-performances of the day<sup>1</sup>. Section 4, borrowed from KB. 17. 7, identifies the fixtures of the sacrifice with the members of the cosmic man (*puruṣa*), and the officiating priests with the breaths and other functions of the body. The first part of section 5 deals once more with the expulsion of the *Asuras*; this time the statement is borrowed from KB, in 'mechanical continuation of 17. 7, whereas the first discussion of the same theme was derived from the AB. The compiler has not taken the trouble to assimilate his excerpts. The second part of section 5, borrowed from KB. 17. 9, explains the distribution of the metres at the *śaṣtras*.

2. 5. 6—10. The *sautrāmaṇī*, *vājapeya*, and *apṭoryāma* rites.—The next two sections disturb the order of the Vait, which treats the *sautrāmaṇī* in chapter 30, after the *vājapeya* and *apṭoryāma*. Section 6 presents one of the legends that have attached themselves to the *sautrāmaṇī*, being ŚB. 12. 8. 3. 1—2; section 7, illustrating Vait. 30. 16, 18, deals with the *śāman*-chants at the *sautrāmaṇī*: it almost copies ŚB. 12. 8. 3. 23—28<sup>2</sup>. In section 8 the text returns to the order of Vait. (27. 1—17), illustrating the *vājapeya*-ceremony by a Brāhmaṇa obviously copied from PB. 18. 7<sup>3</sup>. Sections 9, 10 deal with the *apṭoryāma*<sup>4</sup>; the presentation is not in very close touch with Vait. (27. 18 ff.), nor has it been possible to find its source in the published Brāhmaṇas. Cp. in a general way PB. 20. 3. 2 ff.

2. 5. 11—2. 6. 16 (end). The *ahina*-(*sattra*)-sacrifices.—To these performances<sup>5</sup> are devoted the remaining sections of GB, in general correspondence with the order and treatment of Vait. 31 ff. The Brāhmaṇas are borrowed en bloc from the sixth book of AB with the usual slight alterations; the mantras are assimilated to some extent to those of Vait. Section 11 is composed of AB. 6. 17. 1, 2 and 6. 5, section 12 = AB. 6. 6, section 13 = AB. 6. 7; section 14 is very similar to AB. 6. 8, section 15 is almost identical with AB. 6. 18. 4 ff., introduced by a sentence from AB. 6. 17. 2, and ending in a passage from AB. 6. 17. 3, 4. cp. Vait. 31. 19, 20.

<sup>1</sup> GB. shares with Vait. 20. 15 the expression, *uttamāṇī prafikarāt*. — <sup>2</sup> Both GB. and Vait. read *samśāna* for *sam śāna*, in ŚB. and elsewhere, cp. GARBE'S note on Vait. 30. 16. — <sup>3</sup> WIEBER, *Leber den Vājapeya*, SPAW., 1892, p. 765 ff. — <sup>4</sup> FROSTING, ŚB. XII, p. xv. HILFBRANDT, I c. p. 135. — <sup>5</sup> The GB. designates them as *anukūṣṭha* = *ahina* (cp. also *atārṇana*) the word is wanting in the lexicons.

§ 82. Sixth Prapāṭhaka. The *ahina*-sacrifices continued.—Section 1 is composed of AB. 6. 18. 1—3, 6. 19. 1—10 (cp. Vait. 31. 25). Section 2 continues from the middle of AB. 6. 19. 10 through to 6. 20, with some omissions on the part of GB. (cp. Vait. 32. 10). Sections 3—5 are almost identical with AB. 6. 21—23 (cp. Vait. 35. 12. and 35. 2, 4). Section 6 explains why the Hotar recites two *ulthas* and one *sūktas*, whereas his assistants, the Hotrakas, recite one *ulthas* and two *sūktas*, the first part of section 7 specifies the *śaṣtras* of the Hotrakas to their respective pairs of divinities. Neither of these passages seems to be derived from any known Brāhmaṇa; cp., however, AB. 6. 13 and 14 (especially AB. 6. 13. 7 with GB. p. 167, l. 3 ff.). The end of section 7, dealing with the so called *śāṣṇī*, is nearly identical with AB. 6. 27. 1—5. Section 8 is almost identical with AB. 6. 27. 6—30. 4; section 9 with AB. 6. 30. 5—6. 31; section 10 with



AB. 5. 9 and 10 (cp. Vait. 31. 27); section 11 with AB. 5. 11—5. 12. 3, finishing with 6. 32. 1, 2. Section 12 is composed of a selection of passages some of which are identical with paragraphs of the AB.; others exhibit a certain degree of independence, yet seem to have been suggested by the same text: AB. 5. 19. 12 (cp. Vait. 32. 12); 6. 29. 1 (cp. Vait. 32. 13); 6. 29. 2 (the *ṛṣāḥapī*-hymn; cp. Vait. 32. 14); and 6. 32 (cp. Vait. 32. 19). Section 13 is compiled similarly from AB. 6. 33. 1—5 (cp. Vait. 32. 20; KB 30. 5); 33. 16, 17 (cp. Vait. 32. 27; KB. 30. 7); 6. 33. 19 (cp. Vait. 32. 22); 6. 33. 18 (cp. Vait. 32. 23); 6. 33. 20 (cp. Vait. 32. 26). Section 14 is compiled from AB. 6. 34—36. 3 (cp. Vait. 32. 28—30); section 15 works over AB. 6. 36. 4—7 with a considerable degree of independence (cp. Vait. 32. 31); and, finally, section 16 is based upon AB. 6. 36. 8—17 (cp. Vait. 32. 33, 35).

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- AA. = Aitareya-Āraṇyaka.  
 AB. = Aitareya-Brahmaṇi.  
 Abhandlung = Abhandlung über den Atharva-Veda.  
 AG. = Āśvalayana-Gṛhyasūtra.  
 AJPh = American Journal of Philology.  
 APAW. = Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 ApDh. = Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra.  
 ApG. = Āpastamba-Gṛhyasūtra.  
 ApMB. = Āpastamba-Māntrabrahmaṇi, or Mantrapitṛa.  
 ApS. = Āpastamba-Srautasūtra.  
 ArS. = Āraṇyaka-Samhitā.  
 AS. = Āśvalayana-Srautasūtra.  
 Ath. Paddh. = Atharva or Atharvaghya-*paddhati* to Kauṣika-Sūtra.  
 Ath. Parā. = Atharva-Parāśara.  
 Ath. Prat. = Atharva-Pratishkha.  
 AV. = Atharva-Veda in the Saunakiya school.  
 AVP. = Atharva-Veda in the Paippalāda school.  
 AWAW. = Abhandlungen der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien.  
 Buddh. Dh. = Bauddhiyana-Dharmasūtra.  
 WB. = *Vertragshaus's Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen.*  
 Bdh. = Bauddhiyana-Dharmasūtra.  
 BKS&W. = *Berichte der Kgl. Sachsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.*  
 BhU and Bh. Ar. Up. = *Bhāṣa Aranyaka Upaniṣad*.  
 BRW. = Böhtlingk und Roth, Sanskrit Wörterbuch.  
 ChU and Chind. Up. = Chindogya Upaniṣad.  
 Contributions. = *Contributions to the Interpretation of the Veda.*  
 DIZ = *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*.  
 Gaut. Dh. = Gautama-Dharmasūtra.  
 GE. = Gopatha-Brahmaṇi.  
 GDh. = Gautama-Dharmasūtra.  
 GG. = Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra.  
 GGA = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*.  
 HASL. = *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.*  
 HG. = Hiranyakeśi-Gṛhyasūtra.  
 Introd. = Introduction.  
 IS. = Indische Studien.  
 IStr. = *Indische Streifen*.  
 JA. = *Journal Asiatique*.  
 Jaim Br. = Jaiminiya-Brahmaṇi.  
 JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.  
 JB. = Jaiminiya-Brahmaṇi.  
 JEAS. = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*  
 JBU. = Jaiminiya-Brahmaṇi Upaniṣad.  
 KapS. = Kapiṣṭhala-Samhitā.  
 Kauś. = Kauṣika-Sūtra.  
 KB. = Kauṣika-Brahmaṇi.  
 Keś. = Keśava's *Paddhati* to Kauṣika-Sūtra.  
 K. = Kūṭhaka-Samhitā.  
 KŚ. = Kātyāyana-Srautasūtra.  
 KZ. = *Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.*  
 LS. = *Lāṭyāyana-Srautasūtra.*  
 Māthib. = Māthibharata.

- MG. = Mānava-Gṛhyasūtra.  
 MHASL. = MAX MÜLLER, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.  
 MS. = Maitrayāṇi-Saṁhitā.  
 MU. = Maitri-Upaniṣad.  
 Nakṣ. = Nakṣatrakalpa.  
 Nigh. = Nighaṇṭuka.  
 Nir. = Nirukta.  
 OLS. = Oriental and Linguistic Studies.  
 OST. = Original Sanskrit Texts.  
 Pān. = Pāṇini.  
 PAOS. = Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.  
 PB. = Pāṇicaviṁśa-Brahmana, or Tāndya-Brahmana.  
 PBAS. = Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.  
 Pet. Lex. = Petersburg Lexicon.  
 PG. = Pārashara-Gṛhyasūtra.  
 KV. = Rg-Veda.  
 Kvīdh. = Rg-vidhāna.  
 RVKh. = Rg-Veda Khula.  
 Say. = Sīyana.  
 Sh. = Śatapatha Brahmana.  
 SB. = Śaṅgaviṁśa-Brahmana.  
 SBL. = Sacred Books of the East.  
 Seven Hymns = BLOOMFIELD, Seven Hymns of the Atharva-Veda.  
 SG. = Sākhayana-Gṛhyasūtra.  
 SMB. = Śimaveda-Mantrabrahmana.  
 SPAW. = Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 SS. = Sākhayana-Srautasūtra.  
 st and sts. = stanza, and stanzas.  
 SV. = Sama-Veda.  
 Svīdh. = Śāmavidhāna-Brahmana.  
 TA. = Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka.  
 TB. = Taittirīya-Brahmana.  
 TS. = Taittirīya-Saṁhitā.  
 Up. = Upaniṣad.  
 VāDh. and Vās. Dh. = Vāsisṭha-Dharmasūtra.  
 Vait. = Vaitāna-Sūtra.  
 Ved. Stud. = FISCHER and GILPNER, Vedische Studien.  
 Vend. = Vendidad.  
 Verz. = Verzeichnis der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften in der Kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin.  
 ViDh. and ViS. Dh. = Viṣṇu-Smṛti.  
 VS. = Vajasaneyi-Saṁhitā in the Mādhyandina school.  
 VSK. = Vajasaneyi-Saṁhitā in the Kāpva school.  
 WL. = WILER, Indische Literaturgeschichte.  
 WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.  
 Yajñ. and Yajñav. = Yājñavalkya-Dharmasūtra.  
 YV. = Yajur-Veda.  
 Yvīdh. = Yajur-vidhāna.  
 ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.  
 ZIMMER = ZIMMER, Altindisches Leben.

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# Grundriss

der

## Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.

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